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FEBRUARY 12, 2007 VOL. LIX, NO. 2

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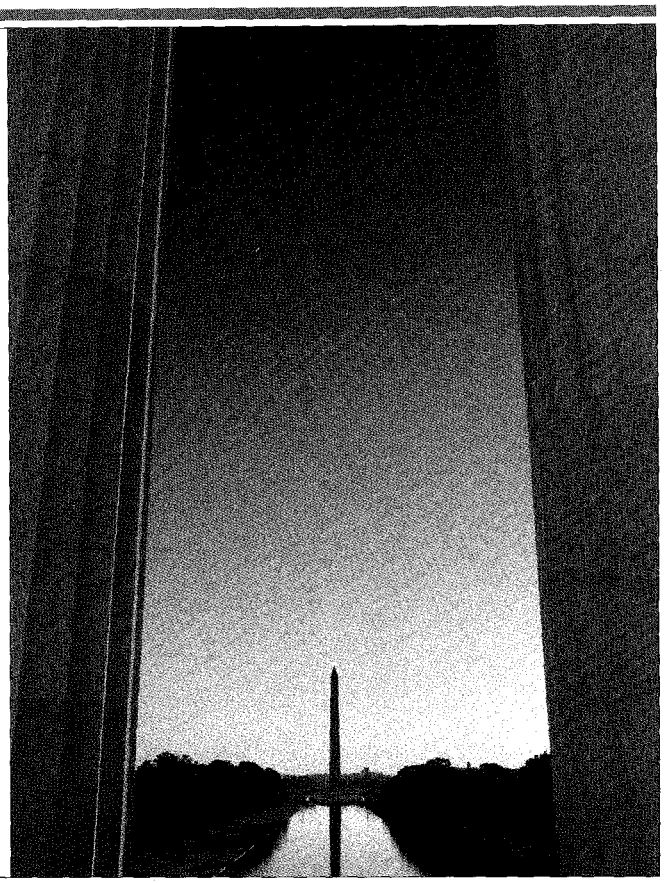
■ ON THE COVER

The Home Front

Conservatives have listed in the wrong direction of late, and as a result the conservative program (to the extent one has existed) has been oddly detached from American life. So characteristic has this mode become for conservatives that it has colored the reception of those of our proposals that really are serious attempts to grapple with real dilemmas. The opportunities for conservative reform have not been exhausted. The realization of those opportunities may, however, require some adjustments. *By Ramesh Ponnuru*



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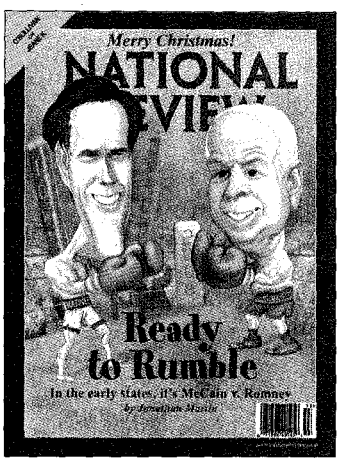
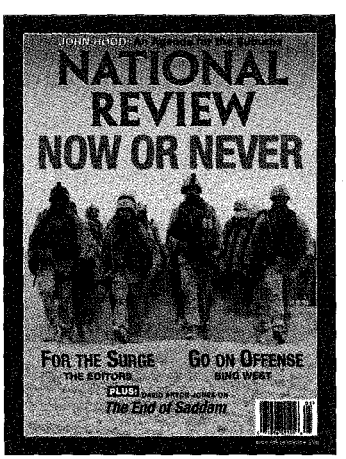


CON MAN

In his cover story on McCain and Romney ("GOP Duel," Dec. 31), Jonathan Martin faults Rudy Giuliani for being "pro-abortion-rights, pro-gay-rights, [and] anti-gun." Fair is fair, but why give his economic measures short shrift? As mayor of New York, Giuliani cut the city's budget in his first two years and eliminated the 6 percent commercial-rent tax. These moves should appeal to the readers of NR, and to voters in the coming election.

Joseph McNiesh
Staten Island, N.Y.



MAKE WAR, NOT ARRESTS

Although I appreciate Bing West's military service and am happy to assume his judgment is generally sound, I still found his article ("Do or Die in Iraq," Jan. 29) wanting. He calls the lack of an identification system for rooting out insurgents "the greatest technical failure of the war." But this, and other policing measures he suggests, might do little to quell the troubles in Iraq. Baghdad is not the Bronx, and our military is not designed to be a domestic police force, however much West might wish it to be.

Kent Ramsay
Aurora, Ohio

. . . DO OR DIE

In regard to Richard Brookhiser's article of January 29 ("Rebels on the Hudson"), I have been getting solicitations from various pro-Confederate organizations that wish again to sing the song of the South. I suppose I receive these mailings, even as a Yankee Doodle Dandy from New York City, because I am on various conservative mailing lists. If there is a perception that conservatives admire the Civil War South in any way, it does indeed distress me. If it were known to these organizations that my family fought for the Union, perhaps my name would be stricken from their lists. No matter; I shall soon be removed just the same, as I have replied to their postings with one of my own: "Get over it; the South lost."

If I were Richard Brookhiser, I might have been tempted to say those same words to the men in the pickup. Then again, if Brookhiser had done so, would he still have been around to pen his piece?

Evan Edwards
New York, N.Y.

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THE WEEK

■ The Clinton–Obama race is getting hotter. How long until she points out that she was married to the *first* black president?

■ Nancy Pelosi's hundred hours are over, and the republic has sustained no serious damage. In part that is because the president still has the veto pen, and we trust that he will use it to keep taxpayers from having to pay for embryo-destructive research. In part it is because of the Democrats' own failures of nerve: They didn't go very far in imposing the pharmaceutical price controls they want. Probably the worst thing the Democrats did was to raise the minimum wage, which will cause some unfortunate people to be unemployed but should not hurt the economy very much. If this turns out to have been the high tide of the Pelosi majority, we should count ourselves blessed.

■ Colorado Rep. Tom Tancredo has said in the past that it would be "delusional" to think he could win the presidency, but he has nonetheless announced his intention to explore a run. He believes that his candidacy will force the Republican field to pay attention to his signature issue: securing the border. But the Republican candidates are, presumably, already aware that many members of their party are riled about the failure to enforce our immigration laws, and experience suggests that "cause candidates" do little to advance their causes. Conservatives should not be looking for single-issue champions, but for a competitive candidate who can champion our whole platform.

■ Washington is preoccupied with the trial of I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby. Now why is there a trial? Let's see. Shady characters in the Bush administration were thought to have outed Valerie Plame Wilson as a CIA employee in retaliation for the self-aggrandizing (and largely false) anti–Iraq War oped her husband Joe had published in the *New York Times*. It soon became clear that Valerie was an analyst, not a covert operative, and that the leak of her identity therefore did not constitute a crime under the Intelligence Identities Protection Act. We also know that the leaker was not Libby but Colin Powell's deputy Richard Armitage, an Iraq War skeptic who let Valerie's name slip out inadvertently. In short, there was no crime, and nothing to investigate. But special prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald nonetheless indicted Libby for perjury and obstruction of justice—this because Libby's account of conversations with journalists differs from their own. Fitzgerald is smart enough to know that memory is imperfect, and that any man who works 18 hours a day and speaks with dozens of journalists a week, as Libby did, will mix up a few details. But he chose to ruin Libby's life anyway. Meanwhile, Sandy Berger—the Clinton adviser who stole classified documents,

destroyed some of them, and lied about it to investigators—has been delivered a wink and a slap on the wrist. Ah, justice.

■ The administration announced that the president will stop authorizing the NSA's terrorist-surveillance program. All monitoring of terrorist communications that cross into the United States will now occur under the authorization of special courts organized under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. Spinning this apparent cave-in as a victory, Justice Department spokesmen contend that they have already gotten court authorization and that it permits everything the NSA program was doing, with equal "speed and agility." This is a startling about-face, to say the least, since the administration cited FISA's inadequacy as its reason for creating the NSA program in the first place. It's hard to see how FISA (which requires a showing of probable cause and judicial approval) allows as much monitoring as is possible under the president's constitutional authority (which, at most, requires that searches be reasonable, with no judicial supervision). When pressed for an explanation, attorney general Alberto Gonzales said he'd love to give one—but revealing the legal theory would get into classified "operational details." Cynics might say that the administration has surrendered to pressure from Democrats and civil-liberties extremists, and that Justice is keeping its theory classified to

ROMAN GENN

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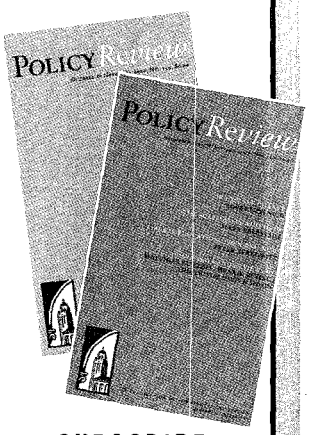

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Democracy in China

A long march through illusion

The reasons for democracy's slow boat to China are complicated: They range from American delusions to Chinese authoritarian resilience to Chinese nationalism. Far less complicated is the reality that, as the United States trumpets democracy worldwide as a strategic objective and a sign of human progress, China is unabashedly providing a counterexample. Successful democratization in China, therefore, will not only usher in freedom for 1.3 billion Chinese citizens but will also strike a blow against the stubbornness of authoritarianism worldwide. It is therefore vital for U.S. policymakers to examine China's success in resisting democratization, reassess the tools and assumptions of current democracy promotion efforts, and think of new ways to remove the roadblocks to freedom.

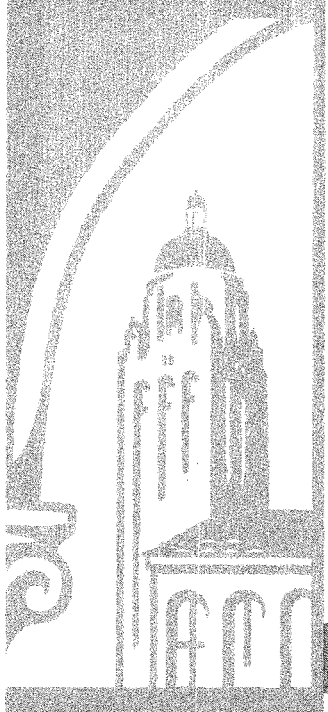
—Ying Ma

Israel's Lessons for U.S. Security Policy

Sixty years of coping with the worst sort of trouble

Since its founding in 1948, Israel has faced terrorism, insurgencies, and attacks from substate actors operating with non-Western goals and values, along with conventional wars and existential threats from aspiring nuclear nations such as Iraq and Iran. Israel's versatility and adaptability in successfully combating threats not only have defended the survival of the embattled nation but also made it an intriguing case study. As such, the Israel Defense Force's military actions have been — and are — a laboratory for methods, procedures, tactics, and techniques for the United States, which now faces the same Islamist adversaries across the planet.

—Thomas H. Henriksen



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THE WEEK...

avoid enraging those who suspect the new program will not be as effective as the old one. We'd like to think the cynics are wrong—but it's not easy.

■ When Arnold Schwarzenegger became governor of California, conservatives who supported him reasoned that while he was a social liberal, he was also a disciple of Milton Friedman. Bad call: Schwarzenegger's latest move has been to propose to tax, spend, and regulate his way to universal health coverage for the state. Three-quarters of the cost would be paid for by the federal government. The joint federal-state administration of Medicaid, which diffuses responsibility, is bad enough; Schwarzenegger's proposal would take it all the way to banditry. He needs federal permission to go ahead with his scheme. It should not be forthcoming. It would be one thing if California chose to go for socialized medicine on its own. It should not be allowed to do so on someone else's dime.

■ When the Duke lacrosse story broke, it immediately became a rallying cry for "social justice." The rape of a poor black woman by three privileged white men was a perfect propaganda piece for the Left: a jarring metaphor of racial, social, and economic exploitation. But now the case has crumbled. The prosecutor has been removed, forced to hire his own lawyers in the face of misconduct charges. Across the country, social critics have been left to cradle a dying scandal in their arms. At Duke, however, a faculty group is working desperately to keep the corpse from growing cold. In the early days of the story, they took out a newspaper ad lamenting the "social disaster" of "what happened to this young woman." The ad contained a collection of dramatic quotes from Duke students, "objects of racism and sexism, who see illuminated in this moment's extraordinary spotlight what they live with every day." Instead of backing off from the ad, the professors have now posted an open letter defending it. They write, "We stand by the claim that issues of race and sexual violence on campus are real, and we join the ad's call to all of us at Duke to do something about this." The methods to be used, apparently, do not exclude publicly declaring the guilt of three innocent men and then refusing to apologize for it.

■ The House of Representatives has five members who never vote on the floor: They're called "delegates," and they hail from the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa. Because four of them are Democrats (the lone Republican is from Puerto Rico), Speaker Pelosi would like to ratchet up their powers, which are currently limited to voting in committee. She stops short of proposing that they vote on final legislation, which the Constitution strictly forbids, but would grant them the ability to vote on just about everything else, including amendments. She should back off. The category of delegate was invented to give a voice to people who lived in territories that were on the verge of becoming states. There are those who seek statehood for D.C. and Puerto Rico, of course, but neither goal is anywhere close to attainment, and nobody seriously thinks that the roughly 60,000 people of American Samoa—who could fit comfortably into many football stadiums—should have it. Pelosi's move may be a clever consolidation of Democratic power, but it doesn't have much to do with democracy.

MARCO GARCIA/AP

■ Hawaii's John C. Calhoun, Sen. Daniel Akaka, is sponsoring, for the second time, legislation that would hand over sovereignty of our island state to native Hawaiians. Akaka seeks to create what he calls a "Native Hawaiian governing entity," a race-based government that would deal with Washington on issues legal, fiscal, and otherwise. "Native Hawaiians"—a group presumably to be based on blood, although it will be up to a nine-member panel to supply a precise definition—are in the minority on the island, but Akaka's bill would nevertheless grant them a racial oligarchy, and in theory the right to secede from the union. Even if it never comes to that, the bill is an affront to anyone who believes in *E pluribus unum*.

■ Democratic congressmen Maurice Hinchey and Dennis Kucinich and socialist senator Bernie Sanders are trying to combat the pernicious influence of conservative media by reviving the Fairness Doctrine. For those who don't remember, the Fairness Doctrine was a Federal Communications Commission policy that required news programs broadcast over the public airwaves to present controversial issues in a balanced way. (The meaning of "balance" of course depended on the whims of the FCC.) The Reagan administration scrapped the Fairness Doctrine in 1987, and the subsequent popularity of conservative talk radio has so bedeviled liberals that they are begging the government to step back in. According to them, the dearth of liberal radio hosts doesn't reflect their unpopularity, but rather the unwillingness of media corporations to give liberals a chance. Leave aside for now the general nuttiness of this proposition, as well as its empirical falsity (corporations own the liberal *New York Times* and MSNBC, and Air America went broke because it had no listeners). The more important point is that no free society should tolerate a government agency's having the power to decide what constitutes "balanced" coverage.

■ Wal-Mart, like many other large companies, is a perpetual target of abuse from raving leftists hurling accusations of corporate greed and worker exploitation. What makes Wal-Mart unusual, however, is that it is now standing up to these scurrilous attacks. The store has begun running national TV ads defending itself as a force for good in our nation's economy. The ads point out that the retail chain creates tens of thousands of jobs per year and saves the average consumer thousands of dollars in reduced retail prices. Contrary to Democratic political dogma, workers clamor for jobs at Wal-Mart, because they judge that it offers fair pay and benefits. It is lamentable that our political climate has forced this successful business to spend advertising dollars to defend the morality of its success. But Wal-Mart's example is encouraging, and we hope other comp-

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anies will follow suit in the assertive rejection of anti-capitalism.

■ Bart Didden used to own a property in Port Chester, N.Y., on which he had plans to build a CVS pharmacy. His property, however, was within a designated "redevelopment area," and G & S Port Chester, the developer charged with revitalizing the area, decided it wanted to build a Walgreens there. Village officials encouraged G & S to reach an agreement with Didden. According to Didden, the owner of G & S made him a simple proposal: If Didden did not want his property seized under eminent domain, he would either pay G & S $800,000 or give it a 50 percent stake in the CVS. Didden refused, and the next day his property was seized. Didden sued Port Chester. The case made it to a circuit court of appeals, which upheld a lower court's decision in favor of Port Chester, citing both a statute-of-limitations restriction and the precedent of *Kelo* v. *City of New London*. The Constitution requires that the government take property only for a "public use." Ensuring that a developer is not deprived of any possible profits resulting from a redevelopment would not seem to qualify.

■ You may have heard about the two Border Patrol agents who got sentenced to more than ten years in prison for shooting a Mexican drug smuggler. An outrage, right? There are calls for a presidential pardon. Congressmen have rallied to the agents' cause. The frustrated U.S. Attorney whose office prosecuted the pair points out that the agents themselves failed to arrest the smuggler, who had abandoned a van carrying 740 pounds of marijuana, because they were too busy covering up their own malfeasance in shooting 15 times at a fleeing, unarmed suspect who had attempted to surrender. They claim that the fleeing suspect posed a threat, but other agents on the scene contradicted their account. The agents then falsified official reports to avoid justice. The two agents refused a plea agreement on lesser charges, which would have given them much less time in jail. When a jury considered the more seri-

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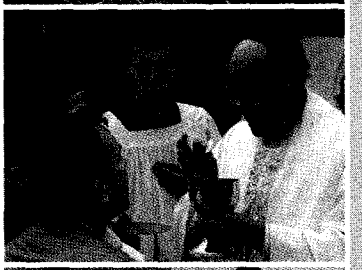

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THE WEEK...

ous charges against them, it found them guilty—and the law stipulated their sentence. Misreporting on the case appears to have led to misplaced sympathy for a couple of bad Border Patrol agents. If the public should be outraged by anything related to this case, it is that public employees have so many job protections that criminal prosecutions are needed to deny guns and badges to officers who shouldn't have them. One way to help good law-enforcement officers is to weed out the bad ones.

■ Six years ago, a panel led by Donald Rumsfeld warned about the possibility of a "space Pearl Harbor." On January 11, we caught a glimpse of what such a disaster might look like, when China destroyed an aging weather satellite with a ground-based missile. China's development of anti-satellite technology is a provocative threat to U.S. military supremacy, which relies heavily on space-based assets for communications, navigation, and surveillance. Locked into predictable orbits, these satellites are vulnerable to rivals who achieve a minimal competence in rocketry. Liberals tend to look to arms-control treaties for salvation, but these pacts are more likely to prevent the United States from designing effective countermeasures than to halt Chinese ambitions. If we want to protect future generations of

Family Time

IMAGINE a society with only three people. Each of them has an annual income of $50,000. At some point, two of them marry. Has the income distribution changed?

The answer, of course, is no. Before and after the marriage, each person has $50,000 in income. The distribution remains exactly the same.

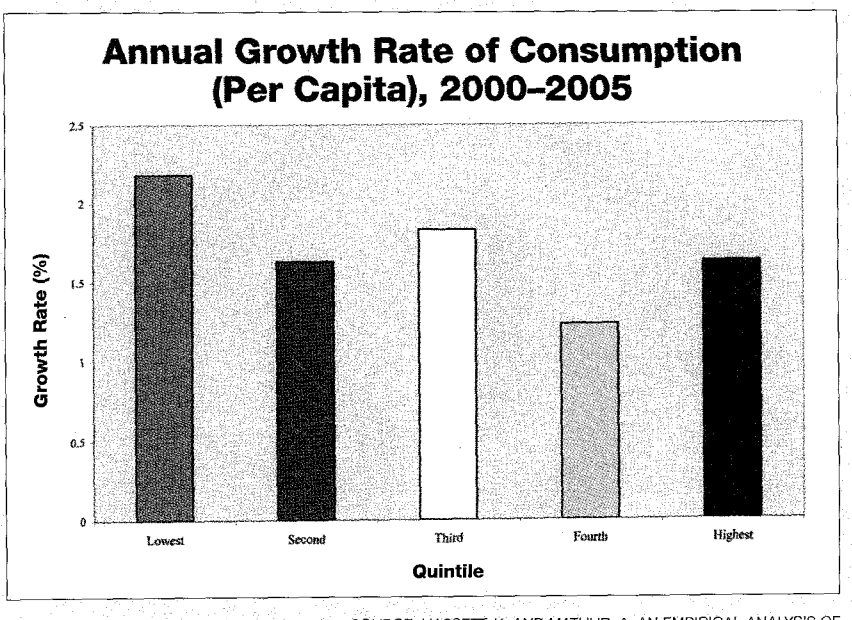
But government statistics would suggest otherwise—that the share of total income has shifted dramatically in favor of the rich. That's because most government surveys track data for "family units," not individuals. And the number of individuals per family unit can vary greatly, depending on marital status, children, and other factors.

My colleague Aparna Mathur and I have presented evidence in these pages that many of the statistics commonly used to paint a picture of middle-class misery are misleading. The best measure of how the middle class is doing, we argued, is consumption, and consumption has been doing just fine.

Our earlier work accepted the standard assumption that the family unit is the correct level of analysis. In a new paper we have just completed, however, we find that this assumption is highly misleading.

The problem is that, much to our surprise, there is enormous variation in family size across income distribution. Family units with higher incomes are more likely to contain a married couple, and more likely to include children. In 2005, for example, the average family unit in the lowest quintile had 1.8 individuals. The average family unit in the top quintile had 3.1 individuals. So while those at the top have more resources, those resources come from more earners and are used to feed more people.

In the nearby chart, drawn from our paper, we estimate the growth in consumption since 2000 for individuals in each quintile, adjusting the data to account for the fact that family units have different sizes. The data now tell an even more striking story than our original work, which did not adjust for family size. It is not those at the top who have seen their economic well-being increase fastest since 2000, but rather those at the bottom. Those in the middle have seen their incomes grow faster as well.



SOURCE: HASSETT, K. AND MATHUR, A. AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF MIDDLE CLASS WELFARE. AEI WORKING PAPER (JANUARY 2007).

As we show in our paper, failing to adjust for family size makes the consumption growth rate of the rich appear slightly higher than that of everyone else. But the growth rate for all income quintiles is quite healthy. Thus, the notion that all the benefits of our economic growth are going to the rich is incorrect. It is true, as the *New York Times* recently wrote, that consumption growth is "unbalanced," but it is not clear in which direction. The answer depends on whether you adjust for family size.

The day may come when the fruits of our economy are spread so thin that additional government redistribution is demanded by all men of good conscience. But today is not that day.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT

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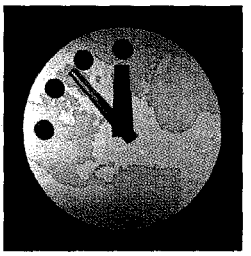
THE WEEK...

national-security satellites, they will need to be maneuverable, rapidly replaceable, and able to take defensive actions. It may also become necessary to develop space-based weapons. The alternative is practically to invite a new day of infamy.

■ The Doomsday Clock is a silly reaction to deadly serious things. Created by the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* in 1947, it supposedly tracks mankind's proximity to The End, with midnight representing the destruction of civilization. In 1953, after the first H-bomb tests, we were two minutes from midnight; in 1991, at the end of the Cold War, we were 17 minutes to the hour. We have now moved from 11:53 to 11:55, thanks to nuclear proliferation and climate change. The minute hand's position is determined by a panel of scientists, who surely realize that the world's dangers cannot be measured with numeric precision. Nor does an advanced degree guarantee political and historical wisdom. Witness one Thomas Blanton of Washington University, a former member of the scientists' panel: "Bush the father's policy decisions produced the biggest onetime move away from midnight the clock ever experienced, and Bush the son's policy decisions have pushed the clock almost as close to midnight as it's ever been." (So much for Reagan, then. And would those nice mullahs build nukes with a Democrat in the White House?) There's no question, though, that the world is full of peril, or that it has grown more perilous with terrorism and the second nuclear age. The Doomsday Clock captures something of this ominous truth.



■ Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has created a world-storm, but things aren't all going his way. Power, including the conduct of foreign policy, is in any case in the hands of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, known as the Supreme Leader, and himself chosen by a special clerical body. In recent elections to that body, Ahmadinejad and his friends lost ground. Inflation and unemployment are both running around 30 percent. Gasoline rationing is due to begin in March. Demonstrations are met with force, and the prisons are full. But Ahmadinejad wants nuclear power above all else, and seemingly will carry on his war dance regardless of national and international opinion. The Security Council has imposed sanctions on Iran, but he dismisses these as "a rusty instrument" and "a piece of torn paper," nicely mixing metaphors. The newspaper that reflects the Supreme Leader's views has come out criticizing Ahmadinejad's diplomacy for the way it has antagonized so many interests, and in another leading newspaper the man in charge of nuclear negotiations presses Ahmadinejad to end his involvement in the nuclear program. Perhaps they've noticed the reinforced American battle group in the Persian Gulf.

■ In his book *Mere Christianity*, C. S. Lewis wrote of Jesus: "Either this man was, and is, the Son of God: or else a madman or something worse." The answer, it turns out, is the last—that is, if we are to believe Hugo Chávez, who pronounced Jesus Christ "the greatest socialist in history." (It was presumably in the name of Christianity, then, that Chávez recently announced plans to nationalize Venezuela's electrical and telecommunications industries. And perhaps he has discovered a Biblical warrant for shutting down opposition TV stations and seeking to rescind presidential term limits?) It is unclear exactly why Jesus should be considered a socialist; but, then again, it would be easier to fit Hugo Chávez through the eye of a needle than to make sense of his flabby reasoning and over-inflated rhetoric. What is clear enough is that the appetite for power of *El Jefe Gigante* remains unsatisfied, and that he longs to swallow up the Church along with Venezuela's prosperity and democracy. Here's hoping he chokes.

■ Federal prosecutors in New York, in cooperation with the New York district attorney, have indicted the man who ran the U.N. oil-for-food program. Benon Sevan is charged with fraud and with having accepted $160,000 in bribes related to the program. Currently he is in Cyprus, his homeland, a country that does not extradite its own citizens. Perhaps Sevan is content to spend the rest of his life there. But if the Mediterranean island proves too small for this U.N. globetrotter, he might want to look into whether he can work out some sort of deal with prosecutors—after all, there is plenty more investigating of the oil-for-food scandal to do, and Sevan could almost certainly help with it. His lawyer has made the laughable claim that the indictment was motivated by a desire to distract from "financial fraud and ineptitude by the United States in Iraq on an unprecedented scale." Sadly, the number of people who care at all about U.N. corruption is quite small, and is composed mostly of those U.N. officials who might have thought themselves above the law. The risk of distraction is not very high.

■ One of the lesser-known of the 20th century's gangster-despots was Mengistu Haile Mariam, who ran Ethiopia as a Leninist-style "people's republic" from 1974 to 1991, complete with nationalization of industry and commerce, secret-police terror, mass killings of "class enemies," and famines brought on by forced collectivization of agriculture. It is probable that Mengistu murdered the former monarch, 83-year-old Haile Selassie. After fleeing Ethiopia following a coup in 1991, Mengistu was given asylum by Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Since then he has been living in an upscale suburb of Zimbabwe's capital city. For the past twelve years a special Ethiopian court has been trying Mengistu in absentia. The court convicted him of genocide at the end of 2006. Now a sentence of life imprisonment has been pronounced on the 69-year-old ex-dictator. Whether Mengistu will have to serve any of his sentence depends on how long Mugabe, who is 82, stays in power, and what attitude Mugabe's successors take toward Leninist mass murderers. Let us hope for the best—that is, for Mengistu, the worst.

■ Is tightening the screws a form of torture? We certainly hope so. The Japanese are now wielding a new weapon in the fight against North Korea. Remittances from ethnic Koreans living in Japan have long been a source of money for Kim Jong Il's government. Effective January 4, those transactions are now

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ended. This is an important measure, but it does nothing to make up for the hideous cruelty of a regime that kidnapped Japanese citizens to train its spies, and it cannot halt Kim's nuclear ambition. It may be a luxury tax, and little more. And we need more. Still, we applaud our allies in this fight.

■ In May 2006—news travels slowly out of the Hermit Kingdom—Dear Leader Kim Jong Il asked Japanese conductor Seiji Ozawa to lead the National Symphony Orchestra of North Korea. Ozawa declined. Since the usual Nork M.O. for procuring desirable Japanese is to grab them off the beaches and spirit them away, is this a sign of mellowing?

■ Readers may recall Chen Guangcheng, the blind human-rights activist in China about whom we have written before. Last August, Mr. Chen was sentenced to over four years in prison for exposing forced abortions and other abuses associated with China's one-child policy. (The government manufactured charges of "willfully damaging property" and "organizing a mob to disturb traffic," but his real offense was simply to embarrass China's rulers.) Now Chen's appeal has been rejected. His lawyers plan to lobby China's highest court, and possibly the central government, on his behalf. We can predict how that will go. In related news, a new Chinese-government report has recommended further implementation of the one-child policy. The abuses against which Chen has bravely fought, then, are to continue.

■ One radical suggestion that has been put forward for reforming and modernizing Islamic societies is the "weapons of cultural mass destruction" strategy: seduce pious Muslims with decadent Western pop artifacts like junk food, heavy-metal music, and *Desperate Housewives*—doing to their culture what we have done to our own. Such efforts on our part may not actually be necessary. There are signs that the Muslim world is discovering decadence for itself. Case in point: Azerbaijani singing sensation Roya, the first female pop idol in that small nation on the shores of the Caspian, most of whose 8 million citizens are Shiite Muslims. The skimpily clad Roya is omnipresent on TV and billboards in Azerbaijan. Much more to the point, a quarter of the population of next-door Iran is Azeri, and many of these Azeri-Iranians can watch the sultry Roya and other pop phenomena via satellite TV. It would be nice to think there is some more wholesome way to wean Muslims from fundamentalism, but if our civilization is to go giggling down into pop-culture perdition, why not take our enemies with us?

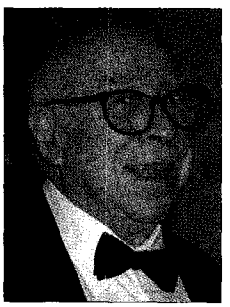
■ The Sundance Film Festival got under way in Park City, Utah, and at the opening-day news conference inaugural chairman Robert Redford took the opportunity to correct any misapprehension the press might have about the festival's political tone. Sundance, he explained, is not a left-wing event. It only seems that way because the Bush administration and its conservative-camp followers have pushed our culture so far to the right that "anyone with a rational mind, with a sense of decency, has been positioned as a leftie." Hmm. Well, let's see. The festival's opening-night movie, *Chicago 10*, is about the trial of anti-war protesters following the 1968 Democratic convention. The closing-night feature is *Life Support*, in which Queen Latifah stars as a former drug addict who becomes an AIDS activist. In between there will be about 120 feature-length movies, among them: *Hounddog*, in which a character played by a twelve-year-old actress is graphically raped; *Grace Is Gone*, about a husband and father whose wife is killed in Iraq; and *Zoo*, which concerns men engaging in sexual congress with horses. Nope, nothing left-wing there . . .

■ Without claiming any real knowledge of the matter, we have always supposed the world of professional meteorologists to be a calm and collegial sort of place, where earnest weatherpersons chat quietly about isobars, dew points, and orographic precipitation while sipping from cups of herbal tea with pinkies extended. We are therefore sorry to hear that the soft totalitarianism of the larger culture has invaded the staid precincts of the American Meteorological Society (AMS). Weather Channel hostess Heidi Cullen has urged the AMS to decertify any TV weathermen who express doubt that human activity is leading to climatic catastrophe. At the just-concluded AMS annual conference in San Antonio, temperatures rose and storm clouds gathered as conferees discussed Ms. Cullen's proposal. Elsewhere the Thought Police have been busy adjusting the language in which climate change is discussed. A correspondent for CBS's *60 Minutes* has compared global-warming skeptics to Holocaust deniers. Al Gore has helpfully chimed in with the term "global-warming deniers." Can "climate Nazis" be far away? Down with enemies of the people!

■ DEPT. OF UNMADE DISTINCTIONS. From a music review in the *New York Times*: "The Jewish Communist composer Hanns Eisler . . . was an outcast in both Nazi Germany and McCarthy-era America."

■ . . . as critics of Israel, like the *New York Times*, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, and David Duke, never tire of saying . . .

■ McCarthy-era America, a frequent target of the *New York Times* and *Pravda* . . .



ADAM NEMSER/PHOTOLINK

■ Art Buchwald's best days as a humorous political columnist were long past when he was suddenly given a new subject. In 2006, diagnosed with kidney failure, he checked himself into a hospice. But he kept living, and living—and writing, and writing, quite in his classic manner. "I am known in the hospice as The Man Who Wouldn't Die. How long they allow me to stay here is another problem. I don't know where I'd go now, or if people would still want to see me if I weren't in a hospice." Like many professional funnymen, he had a Dickensian youth—insane mother, foster homes. The jokes into which he transmuted it were miles away from modern humor, a compound of irony, savagery, and scatology. With him an era of journalism closes. Thanks for the laughs. R.I.P.

■ President Bush awarded the second Congressional Medal of Honor for actions in the War on Terror. Like the one awarded

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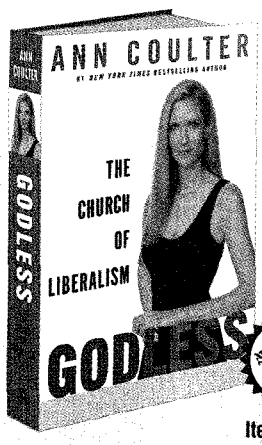

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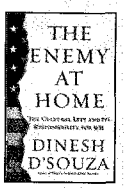

The Enemy at Home — In *The Enemy at Home*, Dinesh D'Souza makes the startling claim that the 9/11 attacks and other terrorist acts around the world can be directly traced to the ideas and attitudes perpetrated by America's cultural left. He shows how liberals are responsible for fostering — and exporting — a culture that angers and repulses not just Muslim countries but also traditional and religious societies around the world.

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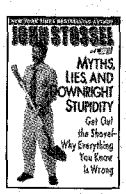

Myths, Lies, and Downright Stupidity — There are lots of things "everybody knows" these days. "Everybody knows," for instance, that public school teachers are underpaid. "Everybody knows" that outsourcing puts Americans out of work. The trouble is, in these and so many other cases, what "everybody knows" is flat wrong. Now, in *Myths, Lies, and Downright Stupidity*, John Stossel exposes the errors behind hundreds of media-generated myths — and reveals that the truth is often the opposite of what we've been taught to believe.

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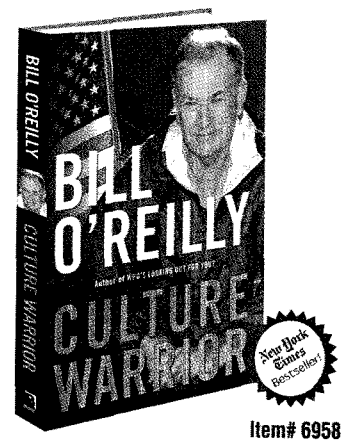

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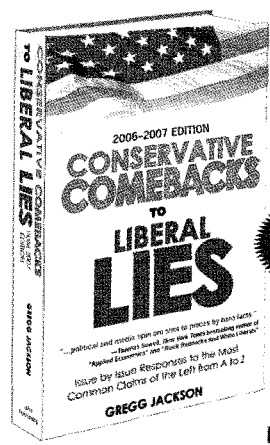

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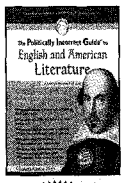

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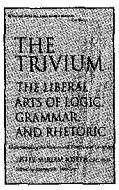

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The Week...

Paul Ray Smith in April 2005, it was given posthumously. Marine Cpl. Jason L. Dunham was assisting an ambushed convoy near Karabilah, Iraq, searching vehicles leaving the site of the ambush. An insurgent jumped him, but Dunham refused the help offered by two of his Marines, for he had spotted the grenade his attacker was clutching. When the live grenade was dropped, Corporal Dunham didn't hesitate, covering it with his Kevlar helmet and smothering it with his body. His actions saved the lives of his men; he died eight days later of his wounds. As the president said in presenting the award, "He was a Marine's Marine who led by example. . . . He was the guy who signed on for an extra two months in Iraq so he could stay with his squad. As he explained it, he wanted to 'make sure that everyone makes it home alive.'" Thanks to his heroism, his men did. A true Marine, he. R.I.P.

POLITICS

No Shock, No Awe

The Bush White House often gets things right—eventually, and sometimes after exhausting all other alternatives. President Bush is calling for more troops in Baghdad, at least a year after it became clear that we needed them. He abandoned his stay-the-course rhetoric and fired Don Rumsfeld, too late to affect the elections. In the State of the Union address, Bush called for bipartisanship, criticized the abuse of earmarked spending, and outlined a creative plan to reform health care. Where was this Bush a year ago?

The president made a solid case for victory in Iraq, and for the necessity of an increase in troop strength in effecting it. He did not acknowledge what an editorialist should but a president probably cannot: that the surge might not work. The opposition's refusal to stand and applaud the mere call for victory was a more accurate guide to its position than its stated words. So was the silence of respondent Jim Webb, the Democratic senator from Virginia, on the subject of victory. The Democrats believe that we have lost the war and should get out, but think it impolitic to say so. Hawks have derided their lack of political courage, but can take heart from what it says about public opinion.

Bush's health plan is genuinely innovative. He recognizes that the tax favoritism for employer-provided health care has distorted the market, so he wants to restructure the tax break in a more rational way. Under his plan, individuals who buy their own insurance would get the same favorable tax treatment as those who get insurance through their workplace. The size of the tax break would be flat: If they bought a cheaper policy, they would be able to pocket the difference. Democrats have said that his plan is a non-starter on their Hill, but it will be an effective counter to their own proposals. It is an initiative that reduces the number of people without insurance, does not raise taxes overall, and indeed cuts taxes for many people. The Democrats will not be able to come up with a similarly attractive package.

The speech went downhill from there. The president's energy policies would subsidize some companies over others, with the effect of raising gas prices. If we want higher gas prices, it would be better just to raise gas taxes. At least that option would redirect some money from the Saudi royal family to the U.S. Treasury. The passage on "comprehensive immigration reform" was the usual shuffle. He continues to reject "amnesty," but continues to define it to mean "any policy one inch to the left of where I happen to be now."

And where were the social issues? It is widely accepted that opposition to abortion and same-sex marriage are two of the few issues that have been helping the Republican party lately; why abandon them now?

Webb's response to Bush was contemptuous ("We . . . hope that this administration is serious about improving education and health care for all Americans") and backward-looking (the president "recklessly" went to war, failing to heed the advice of Webb and others). We suspect that Webb is magnifying the mandate for his brand of populism: People may fear outsourcing and think CEOs are paid too much, but we doubt they resent the strength of the stock market. For that matter, we doubt that they are quite as eager to see the Democrats kick the president when he is down as their core supporters are.

But the truth is that the president is down, way down, and the State of the Union address is not going to do anything to change that.

AT WAR

Symbolism in the Senate

Bush's proposed "surge" of troops into Iraq landed with a thud in Washington. Democrats were quick to denounce him for not truly "changing course," which it turns out—to no one's surprise—they had always been using as a euphemism for leaving Iraq. Republicans dismayed by the lack of progress in Iraq demurred or voiced their opposition, especially Republican senators facing tough reelection battles next year. Only about a half a dozen Republicans were vocal in support of the Bush plan, led as always by Arizona senator John McCain, whose steadfast advocacy of victory in Iraq has been honorable and courageous.

There are legitimate reasons to be skeptical that the surge will succeed. Five new American brigades might not be enough to secure Baghdad. The Maliki government might not follow through on its commitments (although it is showing signs of beginning to crack down on Moqtada al-Sadr). The furies of sectarian hatred might have already spun so far out of control that the civil war isn't containable. But there is a chance that more troops, assigned to securing the population of Baghdad in a way they haven't been before, will tip the city away from its slide toward chaos.

Every other option, short of admitting defeat and leaving, is a fantasy. Iran and Syria are not going to help us in Iraq in response to some diplomatic outreach, and even if they wanted to help, they are merely contributors to the violence there, not its primary causes. Better political performance by Maliki's government will not stop the violence either. An oil law that

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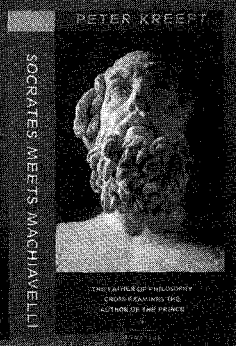

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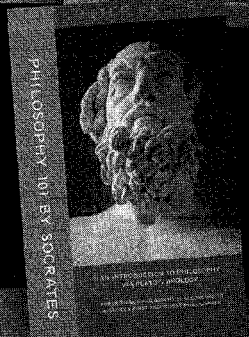

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broadly shares revenues might please Sunnis (and be desirable in its own right), but it won't significantly dampen the insurgency. That requires a force of arms that Maliki cannot yet muster. Finally, we can't simultaneously withdraw to places like Kurdistan and still fight al-Qaeda within Iraq, as some pundits wishfully suggest. Al-Qaeda is waging an insurgency within Iraq, and defeating it requires gathering fine-grained intelligence and undertaking intensive patrolling, both of which are impossible from afar.

But most of Washington toys with all these ideas and opposes the surge. Senators Biden, Levin, and Hagel have proposed a harshly worded non-binding resolution against the surge that all the Democrats will support, and Senator Warner is offering a softer alternative that is meant to attract Republican moderates. Passing symbolic measures is an honored Capitol Hill tradition. This one serves no purpose other than to undermine President Bush and perhaps demoralize American troops by telling them, in effect, "More of you are going to Iraq in a mission the U.S. Congress thinks is doomed to failure. Carry on!"

If the senators believe the surge is "the most dangerous foreign-policy blunder in this country since Vietnam," as Hagel has put it, they shouldn't just bang their fists on their desks and leap in front of TV cameras. They should engage in a serious effort to prevent the surge, as Ted Kennedy advocates. If they have no alternative strategy for victory—and they manifestly don't have one, or even interest in finding one—they should go even further: They should deny funding for the war altogether. Of course, this would entail serious political risk, and most opponents of the war aren't yet willing to take it.

It may be that the domestic political pressure on Bush ultimately serves the unintended but useful purpose of increasing his leverage over Maliki, making it more likely that the Iraqi leader will cooperate with the new push in Baghdad. But the necessary precondition for success is a continued U.S. commitment to Iraq. Bush remains firm on that, while over the last two months he has reviewed his policy to try to put it on a new, better footing. We wish General Petraeus the best in implementing it in Baghdad, and wish he had a more serious, constructive political culture at his back at home.

POLITICS II

A Surge in Candidates

THOUGH it is winter, the earth teems with growth: presidential campaigns, green and hopeful, yearning for victory in Iowa a year from now.

The Democratic field has filled in nicely, with a lower tier that includes Chris Dodd, Joe Biden, Dennis Kucinich, Tom Vilsack, and Bill Richardson. These men have varying credentials and qualities—Biden is a potent senator, with real intelligence—though in presidential terms they are all flyweights, interesting only as they impede other candidates. Vilsack is a former governor of Iowa; Richardson, despite his last name, is Hispanic; both may act as placeholders, tying down blocs of votes. Orbiting above them is Al Gore, who has turned himself into a green holy roller, and could be a factor if he runs.

That leaves three serious candidates in the race so far. John Edwards, Kerry's running mate in 2004, has spent much of his life winning multimillion-dollar judgments from juries. He is attractive, plausible, and shameless; he runs to the left as the tribune of the oppressed. Hillary Clinton hoped to be the candidate of history, America's belated answer to Abigail Adams's request that her husband and his peers "remember the ladies." She has universal name recognition; unfortunately for her, she also has high and unbudging negatives, stemming from her tumultuous years as First Lady, which she has tried to soften by being an attentive, pothole-filling senator. Her announcement that she will begin her candidacy with a "conversation" on issues recalled the "listening tour" she took as a first-time senatorial candidate. What worked in New York State may be harder to pull off nationally. It also suggests the wariness and passivity of panic.

Democrats boast of the diversity of their presidential field: a Hispanic, a woman, a black. In fact their field is as monochromatic as it has ever been.

For Mrs. Clinton, and her fellow Democrats, have been blindsided by the third serious candidate, Barack Obama. Have you heard? He's black. But of course you've heard. Obamamania is the latest installment of our national search for what Richard Brookhiser called in these pages the "Numinous Negro"—a salvific black figure whose very being will bind up the nation's racial wounds. Obama is the political equivalent of the character that Morgan Freeman has played in a dozen movies. We should not entirely scorn the impulse to touch the Numinous Negro, for the American presidency is a great prize, and a black man or woman winning it would weigh in the balance of history against great wrongs. But we should also scorn the impulse somewhat, for it is compounded of white self-hatred and white preening. How bad I have been! How good I am now!

What else can Obama run on? He spent eight uneventful years in the Illinois state senate; he had a stroll to the U.S. Senate, thanks to the implosion of all his serious opponents. He is handsome, charming, and well-spoken. That's not enough to play with the big boys (and girl). But all doors fly open for the Numinous Negro.

There is one other quality Obama has to run on, which he shares with every other Democrat: He, and they, are down-the-line liberals. Democrats boast of the diversity of their presidential field: a Hispanic, a woman, a black. In fact their field is as monochromatic as it has ever been. This does not mean the fight will not be vicious. The one issue that will divide them is Iraq. Of course, they and their entire party (except for spectral Democrat Joe Lieberman) oppose the Iraq War. But did they oppose it from Day One? Hillary Clinton didn't; in fact, she was for a troop surge before she was against it. Her opponents, the net-roots, and George Soros won't let her forget it.

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The Home Front

What to do about domestic policy

RAMESH PONNURU

It has become a bit of a conservative cliché to say that we are victims of our own success. Like a lot of clichés, this one contains some truth. We had a hand in defeating Communism, ending inflation, reforming welfare, cutting tax rates, and reducing crime, and so the public no longer needs us to accomplish these objectives. But we are also, and less paradoxically, victims of our own failure. We have failed to cut the federal budget, or rein in entitlements, or reduce the level of regulation; we have failed to uproot racial preferences or control the borders; we have largely failed to bring school choice to many of our cities; and it has been a while since we have even tried to do any of these things.

The opportunities for conservative reform have not been exhausted. The realization of those opportunities may, however, require two adjustments. The first is a matter of emphasis. Conservatism is both a political enterprise and a set of ideals, principles, and dispositions. It does not wish to become either an academic hobby or a patronage scheme. For the last twelve years, conservatives have grown ever more narrowly concerned with bringing about Republican electoral victories. They have maneuvered within the limits of the possible, but worked less and less to expand those limits. That set of priorities may have made sense at the time; but with conservatives out of power and conservatism out of fashion, it makes no sense now. By all means we should be thinking about the next election. But there is also long-term work to be done: the kind of work that can change the terms on which the third election from now is contested.

We should also adjust our attitude. We have fallen into a bad habit of coming up with solutions before identifying problems. Conservatives' advocacy of a flat tax is a case in point. It might have all sorts of advantages, but it is a response to no pressing national problem. (The complexity and inefficiency of the tax code are merely an annoyance and a waste.) The campaign against earmarks, if it is successful, will improve no American's life. When conservatism has been successful, it has been treated as a source of wisdom about how to meet real challenges, and not as a blueprint for an ideal government. Confronted with stagflation, for example, conservatives prescribed tax cuts and monetary restraint. The difference I have in mind is that between the 1980 and 1964 campaigns; between statecraft and ideology.

Of late, we have listed in the wrong direction, and as a result the conservative program (to the extent one has existed) has been oddly detached from American life. So characteristic has this mode become for conservatives that it has colored the reception of those of our proposals that really are serious attempts to grapple with real dilemmas. The best proposals to reform Social Security fell into that category, but such reform came to seem like an ideological hobbyhorse pursued as an end in itself, rather than as a means toward the end of a sustainable retirement system for Americans.

What follows is an attempt to sketch how characteristically conservative insights might be applied to a few dimensions of our national life.

TAXES

Taxes have been the most powerful domestic-policy issue for conservatives for a generation. When Ronald Reagan, Jack Kemp, the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page, and others married the Republican party and the conservative movement to tax-cutting, the top marginal tax rates were punitive; they were a serious impediment to economic growth; and they were a justifiable source of great resentment from middle-class taxpayers who found their rates rising as a result of inflation.

The top federal tax rate has been cut from 70 percent to 37.9 percent. The top tax rate may be too high, and cutting it might boost economic growth somewhat; but these rates are demonstrably compatible with robust growth. Tax brackets have been indexed for inflation.

But with larger entitlement programs, fiscal policy has become more biased against raising children. The existence of large Social Security and Medicare systems socializes the return on raising children. Childless people free ride on the financial sacrifices of parents. And the fact that people are having fewer children (partly because they're waiting longer to start) raises the cost of Social Security and Medicare to workers. To put it crudely: Young people are having smaller families so that they can pay taxes to make up for the fact that young people are having smaller families.

This is a great hidden factor in American life. When people talk about economic insecurity or the fading American dream, this is one of the things they're talking about. Ditto when they complain about mothers' "having" to work. Or look at real estate: The growth of the exurbs is in part a result of how difficult it has

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gotten to find family-friendly neighborhoods in an increasing number of areas.

The family crunch also plays a role in the political segregation of the country: the oft-noted fact, starkly visible in detailed red-blue maps, that Republicans and Democrats are less and less likely to live in the same neighborhoods. Over the last generation, white voters have realigned based on "values" issues rather than class. Republicans now generally do well among family-oriented white voters (and aspire to make gains among family-oriented minority voters), while Democrats clean up among singles (and minorities). That pattern of political behavior makes the bedroom communities of the exurbs redder and the cities and inner ring of suburbs bluer.

The structure of our tax and entitlement programs threatens the American family. It also threatens conservatism's political prospects. Tax cutters are in a bind—actually, several binds. The first is that even the most well-designed tax cuts will cause the government to collect less revenue. If the tax cuts spur growth, that merely lessens the hit. Since the cost of entitlements is set to go up, it will be hard to enact new tax cuts. It will be hard, for that matter, to keep taxes from rising.

The second bind is that a large minority of the country pays no income tax. People at the bottom of the income distribution thus have no direct stake in improving, or cutting, the income tax. They do pay the payroll tax. But since the payroll tax is supposedly used to fund Social Security and Medicare, any attempt to cut that tax instead is politically perilous: It can be portrayed as an attack on those entitlements or, if the attacker is in an especially demagogic mood, on old people.

The third bind follows from the first two: Without the ability to cut taxes, conservatives seem to have nothing tangible to offer the public. Economic liberalism more or less consists of offers of direct benefits, either to small interest groups or large sections of the population. We conservatives, on the other hand, have many ideas that we think will offer indirect benefits to everyone: Tort reform, for example, will make for a more efficient economy, and this will ultimately help workers, stockholders, and consumers.

But to be able to enact and sustain such policies, we have to have a direct offer of our own. Tax cuts have traditionally been our offer: We won't give you subsidies, but in return we'll let you keep more of your own money. But that offer is, for the reasons just outlined, looking less and less attractive. Without it, when was the last time conservatives enacted policies that directly benefited most people? A decade ago, when we got rid of the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit?

The way to escape these binds is to reform the tax code to be family friendly. In particular, the child credit should be vastly expanded—perhaps to $5,000 per child—to make up for the way our entitlements implicitly tax child rearing. That would make it easier for young people to start families: to buy homes, or to get child care, or to let mothers stay home part-time or full-time.

If someone doesn't pay any income taxes, the child credit should reduce his payroll-tax liability. The way out of the payroll-tax/income-tax bind is to lump them together: The distinction is artificial. All the money goes to the federal government, after all, and the feds don't really keep it in separate pots.

The credit could be part of a larger reform that had the effect of raising taxes on affluent childless people, in which case it would not increase the deficit. As part of that larger reform, we could do a few other things, too: Cut taxes on corporations and on investment. Reduce the number of tax rates. Eliminate the alternative minimum tax. Abolish most tax deductions and credits (leaving the mortgage-interest and charitable deductions alone). We could also reform the tax credits we use to help low-wage workers. They impede social mobility for too many people, not least because they punish marriage.

A $5,000 tax credit would be a big (and defensible) offer to a large "interest group": parents. It's an offer to conservative voters and potential conservative voters. In recent years, conservatism has become the party of the family both philosophically and electorally. But as liberals often point out, conservatives have not done a lot to meet the practical economic needs of families. It is time for social conservatives to broaden their portfolio to include the family's economic imperatives as well as its underlying moral structure. And it's time for the larger conservative coalition to join the side it's on.

HEALTH CARE

Health care is another thing people have in mind when they talk about economic insecurity. Here again, there is a conjunction between a real national problem and a particular political dilemma for conservatives.

Conservatives tend to think that the roots of the health-care mess lie in World War II, when employers offered health coverage to their workers as a way of evading wage controls. After the war, the IRS validated this arrangement by making employer-provided health insurance deductible. Employees now had an incentive to get their insurance through their job, rather than seeking a higher wage and buying their own insurance policy. They also had an incentive to get insurance that covered routine medical expenses, rather than paying for those expenses out of pocket and using insurance only to deal with catastrophes.

Technological development and the aging of the population would have caused costs to rise anyway, but this set-up exacerbated the trend. To contain the costs, employers had to call in outsiders—HMOs—to impose limits on patients and doctors.

There, in a nutshell, is almost everything we dislike about modern American health care. It can be very good, but it is more expensive than it is worth; more bureaucratic, too. The financing intrudes on doctor-patient relationships. People who don't have jobs, or have employers who have been priced out of this expensive market, don't have insurance. They can get treated in emergency rooms, but can't always get the care they need to stay out of them.

States have made a bad situation worse by piling on mandates about what services health insurance has to cover. That makes health insurance more expensive. Licensing restrictions, meanwhile, limit both the number of doctors and the number of routine medical procedures nurses can perform.

Conservatives often minimize the fact that 45 million Americans lack health insurance. They can get life-saving medical treatment, they say. Or they note that the crisis of the uninsured is really the result of immigration: The percentage of native-born Americans with health insurance has held steady

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since the early 1990s. Or they note that the number is a misleading snapshot: Forty-five million people may lack health insurance at any one time, but only half that many people lack health insurance for a full year.

All true, but somewhat beside the point. The 45-million statistic actually understates the anxiety Americans feel about the possibility of losing health insurance. As heterodox conservative writers Ross Douthat and Reihan Salam point out, between 57 million and 69 million Americans lack health insurance at some point during the year. Because that anxiety keeps people at jobs they would rather leave, it contributes to a lot of inefficiency and, more important, a lot of unhappiness.

The political problem for conservatives is that voters respond to this insecurity by seeking the security of the welfare state. We may be on a path toward what the Left calls "single payer" health care, in which the government finances health coverage for all. Under such a dispensation, nobody would have to worry about losing his coverage. Businesses would no longer have to cultivate a side-line in health management: They could offload those costs and responsibilities to the government. We have already gone farther down this road than many people believe. Governments (state and federal) pay for nearly half of our health-care costs, through Medicare (the health-care program for the elderly) and Medicaid (the program for the poor and sort-of poor).

Conservatives should resist a drift toward single payer. Its advocates, libertarian economist Arnold Kling has recently observed, play a game of three-card monte. When conservatives argue that it may lead to exploding costs, they point to foreign systems that contain costs by scrimping on innovation and rationing care. When conservatives argue that it may lead to rationing and stasis, they point to Medicare, which lets people choose their doctors but has out-of-control costs. The truth is that a nationalized system would not eliminate the inherent trade-offs between cost and quality, but merely manage them in a bureaucratic and probably wasteful manner.

In all likelihood, a single-payer system would supply too much care for the slightly sick while shortchanging the severely ill. The political incentives line up that way. The first group is larger than the second, and many members of the second will die before they get to the voting booth.

Intelligent resistance to single payer cannot, however, rest on a defense of a status quo that looks ready to collapse into it. Distinctively conservative answers to popular anxieties are needed.

The principal conservative answer has been health savings accounts. HSAs mitigate the distortions in our tax code, essentially by letting individuals deduct both some of their out-of-pocket expenses and individually purchased catastrophic insurance policies. Three million people now own HSAs, and the major liberal criticisms of them have not been borne out. Michael Cannon, who studies health care for the Cato Institute, reviewed the literature last May and found that they don't increase costs or drive up the number of uninsured, and found little evidence that they result in "adverse selection" by attracting only the healthiest people.

But HSAs have not proven to be the silver bullet that conservatives wanted, either. They may create a market that reduces the cost of routine medical care. But their ability to contain medical inflation is limited by the fact that, as presently structured, they do not do much to reduce the cost of high-end medicine. They are unlikely to fix what ails Medicaid, where their introduction would simply expand a welfare benefit and thus worsen that program's effects on work.

Some conservatives, joined by the small-business lobby, have held out high hopes for "association health plans." Big business health plans are exempt from state regulations already. AHPs would let small businesses, trade associations, and other groups offer health coverage to members on the same basis. They, too, would be exempt from state mandates. It is an attractive idea, but perhaps a short-sighted one. It would eliminate state regulations, but run the risk of creating new federal ones. Those state mandates are there for a reason: The folks who do hair transplants went to the state capitol and demanded that insurers be forced to cover their services. If AHPs became law, the same lobbyists would leave Harrisburg for D.C.—and why would they be any less successful there?

More and more Republican politicians and strategists believe that the way to head off national health insurance is to propose a market-friendly mandate.

John Shadegg, the conservative congressman from Phoenix, has pointed the way to a more stable and elegant solution. He would let individuals buy insurance across state lines. If they face especially onerous regulations in their home state, they could pick an insurer from a state with less burdensome ones. The federal government wouldn't displace state regulatory regimes. It would merely set a rule for interstate commerce that made those regimes compete against one another (as they already do in other respects, for example corporate regulation). Conservatives should not only build support for Shadegg's idea, but expand it to cover small businesses as well as individuals.

More and more Republican politicians and strategists believe that the way to head off national health insurance is to propose a market-friendly mandate. Individuals who can afford health insurance would be required to purchase it, and those who can't would be given assistance. This mandate is at least slightly obnoxious in principle. It rests on the theory that people who could buy insurance but don't raise everyone else's premiums—which is true, but the amount is pretty small. And one of the reasons people don't buy insurance is that regulations have made it a bad deal for the young and healthy.

It might be worth putting up with the imposition if it really did

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close the door to socialized medicine. But to mandate insurance would require a definition of the minimum package of benefits that insurance has to include. Over time, as lobbyists did their work, that definition would expand. Individual mandates may therefore not be a stable solution.

President Bush's recent proposal to equalize the tax treatment of employer-provided insurance and individually purchased insurance is a large step in the right direction. Conservatives have tended to want to deal first with the folly of using insurance to pre-pay for routine medical care. It may be wiser, however, to concentrate first on the problem of portability: to breaking the link between health insurance and employment. In some instances, that may require only a shift in emphasis. HSAs and the president's proposal each tackle both problems. But portability would answer the most widespread popular concern about health care, and might make it possible to enact further reforms in the direction of a market in health care.

INEQUALITY

Action motivated by a desire to reduce economic inequalities is more likely to be pernicious than productive. Conservatives generally think that an unequal distribution of wealth and income is not, per se, a bad thing; and they are both right and reflective of popular American attitudes in thinking so.

A number of worthwhile policies, pursued mostly for other reasons, might also reduce inequality. Making takeovers of complacent companies easier might restrain executive salaries; so might repeal of the provisions of Sarbanes-Oxley that make corporate executives liable for jail time if they sign an incorrect form, which has made them demand more compensation.

Deregulating occupational licensure, so that a woman can legally braid hair without going to school, might increase mobility. Reducing the number of low-paid immigrants might increase wages at the bottom of the spectrum. Reforming the worst schools might have the same effect. So might efforts to increase the supply of capital (and thus reduce the return to it). But any reduction in inequality resulting from these policies or similar ones would be modest.

Should we care? We should care about reducing the number of people living in poverty, and especially amid intolerable chaos and danger, without fathers, to the extent we can imagine what to do about it. But inequality should matter only if it reaches the point where it threatens popular support for a market economy. It is nowhere near that point.

Nor, for that matter, is economic volatility. Fluctuations in individuals' incomes have risen; but as a group of economists document in the recent book *Economic Turbulence*, the effect has been to place most workers in better jobs. The roots of politically worrisome economic insecurity are in our dysfunctional health-care financing system and in the aforementioned difficulties of raising families. Those problems can be addressed without beating our swords against the economic waves.

SPENDING

If we are serious about limiting the growth of spending or taxes, we have to face the entitlement problem squarely. Social Security and Medicare are metastasizing. Every day, it gets worse. Just over the last three years, the cost of fixing Social Security has increased by $1.8 trillion. That's because the day of reckoning has gotten closer. But this figure understates the cost of time. If we had enacted a reform a decade ago, we could have gently reduced the growth rate of benefits. We can still reduce the growth rate without imposing any real pain. But every year our options grow less attractive.

Moreover, every day the ratio of retirees to taxpayers is growing. That means that more beneficiaries become politically untouchable. It means that when we face fiscal ruin, the solution our political system will generate will lean more heavily on tax increases than on spending cuts.

Higher economic growth, welcome though it is, will not save us from what is essentially a political problem. Taxes paid in and benefits paid out are set by formulas that are out of alignment. If growth increases, wages and therefore revenues will go up. But Social Security's benefits rise with wage levels, so they'll go up too. The only way to avoid historically unprecedented levels of taxation is to change the formula so that benefits do not rise so fast. It would be nice to do other things, too: to let workers invest some of their payroll taxes themselves in return for giving up some benefits from the government. But slower spending growth is essential.

Inequality should matter only if it reaches the point where it threatens popular support for a market economy. It is nowhere near that point.

Medicare is in even worse shape. But we will not be able to make progress on Medicare if we cannot even bring ourselves to solve the simpler problem of Social Security. To fix Medicare, we should build on the competitive elements of the prescription-drug bill the president signed in 2003, try to transform the health-care market generally, and then wait to do more until we have shown that we can fix entitlements without impoverishing the elderly. (Medicaid, meanwhile, should be seen as a welfare program, and some of the same reforms that were applied to welfare should be applied to it.)

With regard to "discretionary" spending, the principle that guides us should be to turn down weak claims, not just weak claimants (as David Stockman, Reagan's first budget chief, said). Corporate welfare, including most farm subsidies, should be one of our principal targets. There is no reason for taxpayers to subsi-

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dize the overseas marketing operations of our major corporations, for example. When such expenditures pay for efforts that make commercial sense, corporations will undertake them voluntarily and by themselves—in which case the subsidies are unnecessary. When the spending doesn't make commercial sense, it's wasteful.

As unsexy as it is, budget-process reform deserves renewed attention. The current rules were set up by liberals to encourage spending. Republicans should have changed the rules as their first order of business when they took over Congress in 1995. Maybe next time?

Conservatives have generally promoted spending cuts as a way to reduce the deficit or taxes or both, and people understand that case. But conservatives need to explain something that people don't intuitively believe already: that a government that attempts to do too many things will do worse at the things that it alone can do. Michael Moore famously mocked President Bush for reading to schoolchildren the morning of September 11. He made a point truer than he knows. Our bloated federal government ensures that national politics will too rarely concern the national interest.

IMMIGRATION

Conservatives are bitterly divided on immigration. A sizable number of conservative writers, think-tank scholars, strategists, and politicians believes that we need to fight illegal immigration by creating more legal opportunities for foreigners to work here, while bringing the illegal immigrants who are already here "out of the shadows" by making them legal residents and eventually, if they meet certain conditions, citizens. Other conservatives, particularly at the grassroots level, are dead set against legalization. Some of them would deport all the illegals.

Both sides are in error: the same error, as it happens. They look too narrowly at illegal immigration. There are plenty of reasons to be concerned about illegal immigration. But almost all of them are also reasons to be concerned about a lot of legal immigration as well. Anyone who is concerned about the impact of illegal immigration on wages, or welfare, or assimilation should be concerned about the impact of legal immigration on those things as well.

What most concerns many people about immigration—even if they can't find socially acceptable language to express the concern—is its impact on our culture. They sense that large-scale immigration is transforming the culture into something they find, well, alien. And balkanizing it, too: threatening the shared sense of belonging that animates any healthy national identity.

Conservative supporters of keeping our current immigration levels, or even increasing them, say that they favor assimilation. In some cases, they have a straitened view of what assimilation

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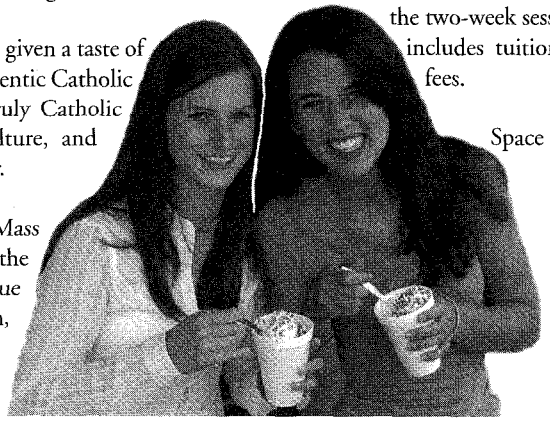

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means: They reduce it to getting on the ladder of economic success, with the acquisition of English considered as a means to that end if it is considered at all. But they do not consider whether even that narrow definition of assimilation would be better served by a reduction in the flow of immigrants.

Immigration enthusiasts point out that previous waves of immigrants have inspired doubts about assimilability, and that these doubts turned out to be unfounded. That history is not necessarily a guide to our future, however, since much more of today's immigration comes from one place, and that place is right next door. Besides, most of the assimilation took place during the years in which we followed a low-immigration policy. It would be risky to assume that was a coincidence. As John O'Sullivan has remarked, immigration is best managed when it is small and steady or massive but episodic. Continuous mass immigration impedes assimilation.

The conservative opponents of amnesty, meanwhile, should both soften and broaden their opposition. They should be willing to reduce legal, as well as illegal, immigration; but they should keep in mind that one of the reasons to reduce it is to help those we let in assimilate.

Mark Krikorian, the head of the Center for Immigration Studies, recommends a strategy of attrition. Stepped-up enforcement of the immigration laws, at both the workplace and the border, would reduce the illegal-immigrant population (fewer would come, and more would leave). Legal-immigration levels would be reduced. At some point—although Krikorian does not go this far—an amnesty might be conceivable: but only after it was clear that it would not act as an invitation to further border crossings. This strategy wouldn't be a "comprehensive solution": It wouldn't bring all illegals "out of the shadows" or send them all back home. But it would let the country slowly get a handle on the problem.

Conservatives should, at the same time, be careful about embracing measures to reduce governmental benefits for legal immigrants. We should try to ensure that we take in people who will not need governmental support. But if an immigrant is down on his luck, we should not set special eligibility criteria for assistance to exclude him. We should welcome with open arms those whom we have chosen to invite. We should find a way, that is, to oppose continuous mass immigration while remaining pro-immigrant. In the long run, this will make more political sense than the plan the Republican establishment more-or-less openly favors: bringing in as many immigrant laborers as possible, and then making it as hard for them to vote as possible. (This desire has much to do with the genesis of the Bush administration's plan for "temporary workers.") That's neither desirable nor possible.

Navigating the politics of immigration is tricky. The Hispanic population is rising, and rhetoric that is anti-Hispanic, or even appears to be, may alienate voters whom conservatives are going to need. Simply acceding to increases in immigration, however, will not only alienate existing conservative voters but change the electorate in ways that are likely to make conservatism a harder sell. A moderate restrictionism may not excite corporate executives or talk-radio hosts, but it would reconcile Americans' desire to be humane with their concerns about the nation's future. And the alternatives are not promising.

THE COURTS

Forty years after Republican presidents started promising to appoint "strict constructionists" and the like to the federal bench, the conservative counter-revolution in the courts has yet to occur. No landmark case of the Warren or Burger years has been overturned; conservatives have merely slowed down the minting of new rights.

The Supreme Court's religion-clause jurisprudence has become less militantly secularist, although it is still a conceptual mess that offers no clear guidance to those who wish to obey it. The Court's halting moves toward federalism, which caused so much alarm from liberals a decade ago, have ended.

At some point an amnesty might be conceivable: but only after it was clear that it would not act as an invitation to further border crossings.

This dismal track record may signal the limits of a strategy to rein in the courts that relies almost exclusively on appointing judges who are thought to be likely to restrain themselves. The judiciary's seizure of power over the last century is a structural problem that may require a structural remedy, such as an assertion and exercise of the congressional power to limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts. Such exercises would tend to return issues from the federal courts to state legislatures, doubly serving the cause of self-government.

Conservatives may also be disappointed because we expected too much from the courts. We have wanted the courts not only to refrain from striking down constitutional laws, but to strike down those laws that offended our sense of constitutional propriety. We have wanted them to protect political speech, commercial speech, federalism, and colorblindness. Perhaps we put too much faith in the courts, relying on them too heavily to protect the Constitution.

Perhaps, too, our philosophy of judging has grown a little stagnant. We sometimes speak as though the Constitution were merely a collection of provisions, and the job of a judge could be done without reference to the political philosophy that underlies them and gives them coherence. Conservatives are wary of the idea that judges should consult the "spirit" of the Constitution, since such invocations can be abused; but so can any method of judicial interpretation. These issues will be on the intellectual agenda of thoughtful conservatives, even as practical conservatives continue to press the case for constitutionalist judges.

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Federalism has been a key concern of conservatives since the modern movement was founded, but disagreement and confusion about what it means, what purposes it serves, and how to promote it have been present just as long. The chief confusion has equated federalism with "states' rights." They aren't the same thing, and it is not an abstract point. It is a point that grows in practical significance each year.

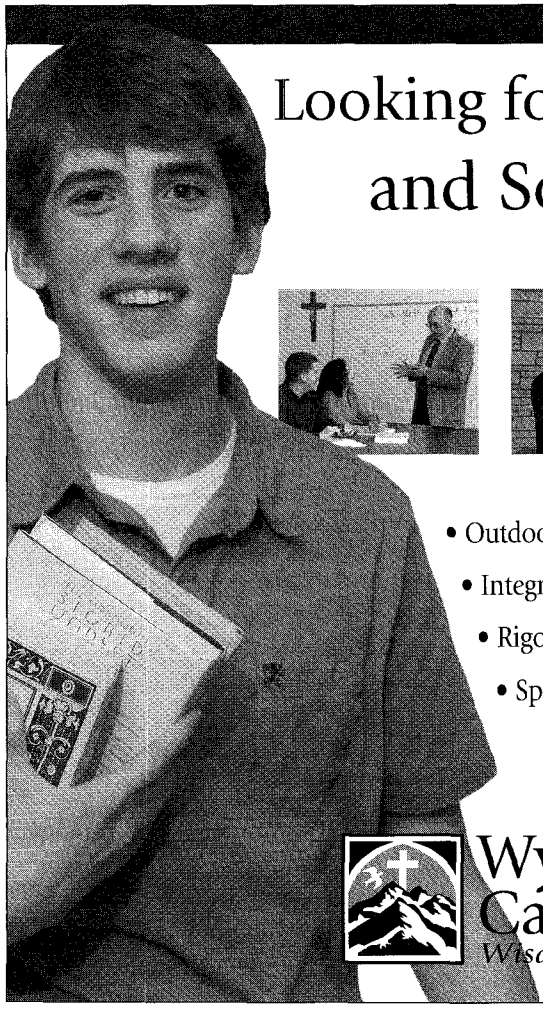
The litigation explosion is a product of the confusion. The worst jurisdictions in the country, such as Montana's, effectively set the liability rules for the entire nation. When Eliot Spitzer was New York's attorney general, he was able to set securities regulations for the entire country by claiming jurisdiction over any company with clients in his state. The states set a national policy on tobacco, bypassing the Congress, in what previous generations would have regarded as a clear violation of the Compact Clause of the Constitution, which requires states to get congressional approval before making pacts with one another.

The Medicaid explosion is another price we pay for a warped version of federalism. The federal government pays half the bill for the program but gives the states leeway in setting benefit levels. When times are flush, governors and state legislators can hand out two dollars in benefits for every dollar they raise in taxes; when times are lean, they can pocket only fifty cents of savings for every dollar of benefit cuts they impose. Medicaid has grown faster than any other item in state budgets. In the name of states' rights, the federal government is inducing budget crises in state after state—and then being asked to bail them out.

The term federalism doesn't appear in the Constitution. But the Constitution does adumbrate a powerful theory of the relations states should have with one another, and with the federal government. It structures those relations to serve citizen choice and governmental accountability. Conservatives have long tried to defend federalism by fighting an overreaching national government. It is a battle we have largely lost.

Now we are losing in a new front because we aren't even fighting, and we aren't fighting because we don't recognize it as a front. The Supreme Court's federalism revolution has stalled because the Court does not have the political capacity or will to undo the New Deal or Great Society, and will not reliably choose federalism over the claims of designated victim groups—women, racial minorities—when they clash. But it also wholly neglected the interstate dimension of federalism. If the Court were ever to require that states really extend full faith and credit to one another's laws, for example, the tort crisis would be over.

In the Supreme Court and in Congress, conservatives need to recognize that not all threats to federalism come from Washington.



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REGULATION

Deregulation, an important conservative cause in the late 1970s and early 1980s, has dropped off the radar screen. The Sarbanes-Oxley legislation, passed in 2002 as a response to corporate-accounting scandals, is a case study in why it should be revived.

It was passed in a climate of media hysteria. It has cost, by some estimates, more than $1 trillion. What has it achieved? It hasn't rooted out fraud: Congress acted against corporate crooks only after first investors and then prosecutors had. Supporters say the law "restored investor confidence," but the stock market tells a different story. It fell during the recession at the start of the decade, and it kept falling for months after the law passed. It recovered only when corporate profits did.

Some business groups and think tanks have recommended reforms to undo the worst effects of the law: exempting small businesses and removing opportunities for frivolous lawsuits, for example. Maybe we'll have to settle for that, or less. But the correct response is to abolish Sarbanes-Oxley, and salt the earth so that no new regulations can grow in its place.

TRADE

The bipartisan consensus in favor of liberalizing trade, which lasted for decades and helped to increase prosperity at home and abroad, has now collapsed. Democrats no longer support free trade. They deny any protectionist impulses: They say that they merely want better trade deals, which require other countries to adhere to labor and environmental standards. But those standards would cripple poor countries' ability to compete, so they will never accept them. To support free trade on the condition that a global minimum wage be enacted first is to oppose free trade.

It would be a mistake to assume that domestic support for trade can be rebuilt by acceding to such demands, even if they make securing free-trade deals with other countries harder. If business groups accept the premise that labor and environmental accords are necessary, they will essentially be ratifying the idea that trade is a destructive force that needs to be contained—in which case not liberalizing trade will seem more rational than placing conditions on it. In 2002, President Bush went further than any previous president in attaching labor and environmental restrictions to a bill giving him authority to negotiate trade deals. Democrats opposed it anyway.

Free traders need to change strategies in response. For seventy years, they have made a kind of mercantilist argument for free trade, presenting imports as the price that unfortunately must be paid to get other countries to accept our exports. But since nobody ever made a robust case for free trade, it is not surprising that support for it would erode. For the next few years, a Democratic Congress will make it impossible to conclude any trade pacts. So there is no need to bargain with protectionist constituencies and water down the message to enact them.

In 1965, William F. Buckley Jr. wrote that "a massive educational campaign should be initiated to demonstrate the mutual values of free trade. . . . A profitable enterprise for a Republican Party looking for something constructive to do." Since then, trade has made American consumers, including businesses, vastly better off. Conservatives should raise the trumpet.

EDUCATION

Even some former supporters of No Child Left Behind are expressing disappointment in it. Test scores have made no dramatic improvement, if they have improved at all. Some of the incentives in the act are widely recognized as perverse. It encourages states to increase the percentage of students who are "proficient" in English and math. But it also inadvertently encourages them to set a low bar for "proficiency," and to neglect to improve the performance of those kids who are far below proficiency or securely above it.

The formulas could be rejiggered, but new perversities would inevitably arise. It would be better to adopt a simpler plan: Create a new national test, but give the states more freedom to figure out how to get their students to pass it. James Peyser, the chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Education, proposes a milder step in this direction: Use federal funding to reward states that bring their kids' scores on existing national tests up.

Conservatives have higher hopes for school choice, but it has been frustratingly difficult to get states to give it a try. Suburban parents have already exercised choice, at great cost to themselves, by buying houses in good school districts. Understandably, they don't want conservative reforms to upset their arrangements. School-choice plans, if they are to have a chance of getting enacted, will have to include provisions to protect these parents. It might be worthwhile to ensure that such plans allow participating schools to set their own standards for admission. That might limit students' options, but it would protect schools' ability to choose their own character.

Or perhaps we could build on the parental choice that already exists. Harvard professor Caroline Hoxby has compared areas with effective choice in schools—because there are many school districts, or because it is affordable to move from one district to another—to areas without it. She has found that the more choice parents have, the more likely schools are to have high academic standards, emphasize discipline, impose accountability on principals, and avoid fads. When school districts are consolidated or expanded, on the other hand, parental involvement tends to decline. This research suggests that school choice can be promoted not only by introducing vouchers and charter schools, but by breaking up large urban school districts.

BACKWARD AND UPWARD

This tour of public policy has been, so to speak, exhausting but not comprehensive. Conservatives will also need to figure out how to deal with global warming, crime, and a hundred other topics. But this article may already have asked enough from conservatives: that they rethink their approach to taxes, get over their attachment to "states' rights," reach a consensus on immigration, and reform Social Security, just for starters. Well, nobody should ever have said that the conservative vocation was just to stand still. **NR**

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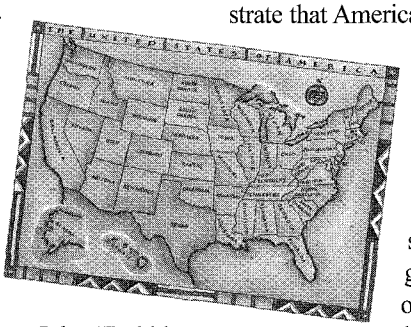
Facing Reality

Toward a conservative foreign policy

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

ANY consideration of a conservative approach to foreign policy must begin with the reality that there are serious divisions among conservatives on it. The most familiar division is that between neoconservatives and realists. But both schools divide further into smaller factions. Charles Krauthammer, for instance, has identified a split between democratic globalists and democratic realists within the broad neoconservative camp. (Distinction: Democratic realists would be the more choosy about where and when to intervene.) Realists come in both liberal and conservative versions. There is a third school of "assertive nationalists" who favor more intervention than realists but for narrower national purposes than the democracy-promotion of neoconservatives. A fourth school, whose program is sketched out in Francis Fukuyama's recent book *America at the Crossroads*, would promote democracy but rely on NGOs and civil-society mechanisms rather than upon armies and intervention to do so. Buchananite noninterventionists constitute a fifth school. And there are the extremes of tenderness and toughness in the conservative camp represented respectively by the Cato Institute and NR's own John "Rubble Don't Cause Trouble" Derbyshire.



Merely to list these different approaches suggests that seeking to reconcile them is probably not the best way forward. It would be too concerned with previous disputes and founder on the rocks of entrenched positions. Advocates of each school would naturally defend their established positions and criticize those of others. Discussion would tend to ignore important issues that cut across existing sectarian disputes. All this is the recipe for a debate that reinforces conservative divisions and never reaches a conclusion, let alone a broad consensus.

Much the same thing can be said about seeking to root a conservative foreign policy in "principles." Bismarck once said that he could as well follow conservative principles in crafting a foreign policy as walk through a dense forest with a twelve-foot pole between his teeth. The problem with a principled approach is that the principles are always less clear than they seem. An apparently obvious principle, generally favored by conservatives, is that foreign policy should pursue the national interest. But the national interest is sometimes obscure or clouded. Was removing the Taliban in America's national interest? Yes. Did more than a handful of people realize this before September 11? No. Worse, the national interest will inevitably be a matter of serious domestic dispute in a multicultural society where the very definition of the nation is uncertain. No European nation with a large Muslim minority is likely to reach agreement on what its national interest means in policy towards the Middle East.

Signing on to more high-minded aspirations is likely to have even worse consequences. For instance, Western countries have accepted a legal responsibility to intervene to prevent genocide when it occurs. This seems admirable. But it places an obligation on the signatory nations to risk American (and British, and French) lives for remote causes manifestly unrelated to their interests (and perhaps unforeseen under the original interpretation of the rule). So when the signatories wish to avoid intervening, as they did in Rwanda, they simply deny that genocide is taking place, adding hypocrisy to callousness. Other rules, such as the prohibitions on the transfer of populations, while understandable as a disincentive to ethnic cleansing, may nonetheless obstruct the resolution of particular disputes. When all is said and done, almost the only principle that a Bismarck can consistently follow in foreign policy is the rule of prudence. And prudence offers only the most general guidance on how to respond to a particular crisis, its first instruction being to learn about the facts of the case on the ground.

Nor will a third approach—consulting America's traditional posture in foreign policy—be of much help. To begin with, there is no agreement on the nature of that tradition. In his recent book *Dangerous Nation*, Robert Kagan delves into history to demonstrate that America's tradition is one of ideologically driven interventionism rather than one of isolationism. His critics, such as David Gordon in *The American Conservative*, retort that it is Kagan's interpretation that is ideologically driven, distorting the historical record to justify future interventions. Interesting though these debates are, and even supposing we could resolve them, they cannot give us a ready-made foreign policy. Knowledge of a tradition may allow us to predict the general drift of a nation's foreign policy. A tradition is a sort of national disposition. But it offers no guidance about what to do in a particular crisis or to meet a particular threat. After all, isolationists sometimes favor intervention—Pat Buchanan was a firm Cold Warrior—and interventionists shrink from involvements they think too risky. Once again, it is the particular circumstances that, in Burke's words, "give in reality to every political principle its distinguishing color, and discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind." So it is to circumstances that we must now attend.

AMERICA'S WORLD ORDER

What are the particular circumstances to which U.S. foreign policy should direct itself? The main facts of the current international situation are in fact modestly encouraging: The U.S. is the single most important power in a world organized largely along lines of national sovereignty and free trade that reflect American interests and values. To be sure, the present structure of world power has many flaws and imperfections. Because international relations are a more or less civilized struggle between independent states (and, increasingly, international agencies), that will always be the case. But the key points are clear.

Economic arrangements in today's globalized world protect the freedoms to trade and invest that American administrations since Hamilton have regarded as vital American interests. International political institutions are too weak and dependent upon U.S. good-

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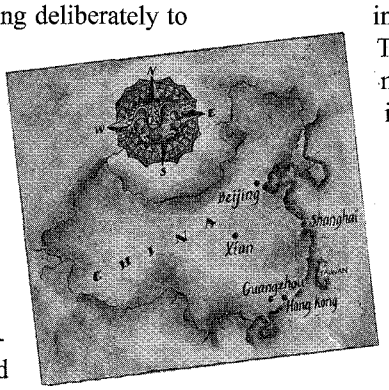
will to reduce U.S. sovereignty significantly unless Americans themselves pursue this course. And the U.S. has built up a network of alliances and bases that give it the strategic dominance to protect its interests throughout the world.

The current structure of world power thus embodies free trade, national sovereignty, and U.S. strategic predominance. These are interests well worth defending. Hence a world order that embodies them is well worth defending too.

Yet this international order is threatened. Everyone seems to agree on that point even though they disagree violently about the nature of the threats. Liberals and social democrats tell us that today's main threats to national and international security are novel ones such as world poverty, AIDS, and climate change. This is high-sounding nonsense. There are perfectly good reasons for seeking to cure these ills: namely, that it is better for people to live long, healthy lives in a pleasant environment rather than short, nasty ones in deserts or swamps. For these things to be threats to our security rather than simply social or natural evils, however, there would have to be serious powers seeking deliberately to worsen world poverty, spread AIDS, or heat up the world's climate in order to conquer or intimidate us (as in a James Bond movie).



In fact, apart from a few hysterical leftists who believe the U.S. is guilty of these crimes, everyone supports international cooperation to solve them. But people reasonably differ on the technicalities of how to do so, or on the level of resources that should be devoted to each problem, or even on the nature of some of the problems. No doubt these disputes will be resolved over time, after which poverty, AIDS, and climate change will be dealt with. Whether or not that happens, neither these ills nor dissension among governments over them amount to security threats. The campaign to discuss them under that heading is essentially an attempt by the Left to divert resources from foreign and defense spending to its favored social programs.

That might not matter overmuch if genuine and/or traditional security threats did not exist, as the Clinton administration sometimes seemed to think in the 1990s. Unfortunately, as the leading power of the international order, the U.S. is likely to face at least three major threats in coming decades: Islamist terrorism, a power-grab by "transnational progressives" in international institutions, and the rise of new powers, notably China, with different political and economic traditions. Together with such international trends as the demographic decline of Europe and Russia and the spread of Muslim immigration, these three challenges are likely to bring about massive change in the international order. And all three have America in their sights.

Islamist terrorism seeks to convert or destroy America. It regards America as the Great Satan and thus the main obstacle to the re-establishment of a worldwide Islamic caliphate. Its ambitions seem extravagant. It is unlikely that jihadists will defeat a U.S. army, occupy America, and make Islam the federal religion. But according to the security experts, terrorists could one day destroy an American city with a weapon of mass destruction. Islamists are already weakening America's allies in Europe by a blend of immigration and cultural subversion. And they are gaining in strength and recruits as the U.S. seems to falter and show a lack of resolve in Iraq. Even if they are unlikely to gain their main objective, they might succeed in undermining American prestige, isolating the U.S. internationally, disrupting U.S. trade and investment, and occasionally inflicting costly loss of life through terror.

Trans-national progressives seek to bind America. International civil servants and officials in NGOs—who together constitute the transnational progressives or "tranzis"—generally regard the U.S. as overly powerful and seek to constrain its actions in various ways. These include bringing U.S. military interventions under the purview of the International Criminal Court, regulating its carbon emissions under the Kyoto agreement, and making European Union regulations the "gold standard" for international economic regulation, thus effectively forcing U.S. manufacturers to conform to EU rules. Such actions are part of a general assault by the tranzis on national sovereignty and the Westphalian order of nation-states. Since democracy is rooted in the nation-state, a secondary effect of this trend is to transfer power from democratic nation-states to non-accountable international agencies controlled by the tranzis. Though the U.N. and its agencies have been their main base until recently, the EU is an increasingly important source of tranzi influence—and an increasingly self-conscious ideological rival to the U.S. It is currently discussing, for instance, a proposal that EU officials launch a worldwide campaign for the prohibition of the death penalty.

China seeks to rival America. China's challenge to the U.S., though likely to be formidable, is the most traditional one and so the threat most amenable to orthodox deterrence and diplomacy. China seeks to be an Asian and world superpower and to exercise its hegemony over its near-abroad. That will nudge it into conflict with the U.S., in particular over Taiwan, but the importance of America as a market for Chinese goods will likely postpone any actual clash for a long time and perhaps indefinitely. To contain China within an Asian balance of power, the U.S. has quietly forged new alliances with Vietnam and India while keeping its relationship with Japan in good repair. At the same time Washington has upgraded its economic relationship with Beijing—the U.S. Treasury Secretary led a high-level delegation there recently—in order to manage any disputes before they get out of hand.

CHANGE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The interrelationships between these different challenges produce some interesting results—and not always discouraging ones. For instance, both China and India are likely allies for the U.S. against Islamist terrorism. India's hostility to terrorism is well-known. Both the U.S. and the War on Terror are more popular there than in any other country, including America itself. But China also has Islamist factions. If Islamist radicalism grows there, it will provide Beijing with a further reason for maintaining good Sino-American relations and for cooperating with U.S. intelligence and police agencies in the War on Terror.

That would take place against a background of growing Chinese and Indian prosperity and influence. Several estimates suggest that China, India, and the U.S. will between them account—and account roughly equally—for three-quarters of world GDP by mid-century. Such estimates should be treated cautiously. But if they are

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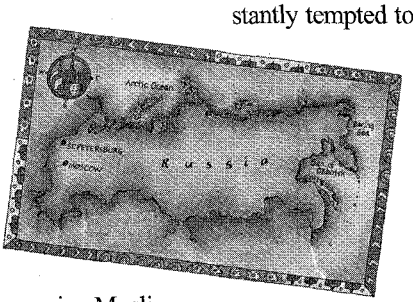
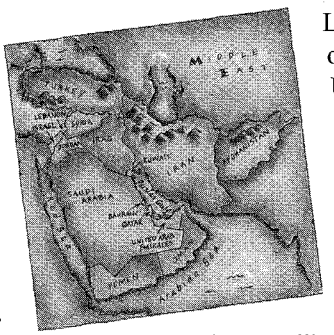
even half-right, then both Asian powers will exercise growing influence in world politics and international bodies. As new superpowers exercising their new political clout, they will be very reluctant to sign on to the large tranzi project of chipping away at national sovereignty. They have already refused to sign on to such important tranzi projects as Kyoto implementation and the ICC. They are likely to resist the EU campaign for an end to the death penalty. They have suffered greatly from the EU's practice of using regulatory standards as a disguised form of protectionism. And except on issues where their specific interests dictate otherwise, they will probably drift toward informal support for U.S. resistance to the tranzi power-grab.



As the spiritual home of the tranzi project, Europe will lose influence owing to these developments. But it will suffer a decline in influence in any event. The same estimates that show China rising to 25 percent of world GDP show Europe falling to about 10 percent. Indeed, Europe will be hit on two fronts: In addition to losing international political clout, Europe will experience internal upheavals as the growing Muslim minorities exercise their own new political influence. They will seek to sway foreign policy, of course; it will become increasingly difficult for European governments to support the U.S. openly on Middle East policy or the War on Terror (though intelligence and police cooperation will continue discreetly). But they will also shift domestic policy on such questions as abortion, gay rights, abolition of the death penalty, etc. Until now the EU has been the leading proponent in U.N. conferences and other international venues of these new moral "rights." As Muslim influence grows, the tranzis may find that their European base for such policies disappears under their feet.



It is Russia, however, that faces the most ominous future. Blighted by a demographic collapse, governed by kleptocrats, still economically backward, hostage to ever-changing energy prices, relying on Muslims for a quarter of its troops, and separated from a growing China by a disputed border, Russia faces apparently insuperable problems. And if it were to fall into chaos, that would both embolden the jihadists and expose Europe to further risks.

America, in contrast, has ample room to maneuver within and between these challenges and contradictions. To do so successfully, however, its policy must be rooted in three things: a reputation for winning, a less utopian version of democracy promotion, and reliable allies.

WINNING AND LOSING

Let us at this point grasp the nettle of Iraq. Winning is important. It frightens enemies and heartens friends. There is no reason to assume that the U.S. has lost the struggle in Iraq and every reason not to lose by surrendering prematurely. American troops, our allies, and the Iraqi government with its forces together constitute the strongest military and political power in Iraq. If the U.S. had the stomach to maintain a substantial military presence in Iraq for another decade, there is no doubt that a stable, pro-American, and democratic Iraqi government would remain in power and eventually be able to sustain itself without external help. The problem, as in Vietnam, is on the home front.

If domestic U.S. pressures force Washington to scale down and withdraw our troops over the next two or three years, the outcome is much less knowable. But a reasonable speculation is that we face four possible long-term outcomes, two broadly favorable and two unfavorable. They are:

(a) a quarrelsome but largely stable Sunni-Shia coalition government, formally democratic and allied to the U.S., that controls Iraq but that for many years has to fight a weak and sporadic jihadist insurgency;

(b) a Shia majority government—elected democratically, constantly tempted toward sectarian repression, but restrained by the human-rights concerns of its American ally—that has to fight a strong and widespread Sunni insurgency supported by neighboring governments;

(c) an authoritarian Shia government, allied to Iran, that emerges from the chaos and civil war following an American withdrawal and that, in an alliance of convenience with the Kurds, quickly crushes any remaining Sunni resistance;

(d) a permanent civil war between Sunni and Shia, both supported by neighboring regimes, that informally partitions Iraq into different regions where warlords, terrorist groups, and tribal leaders rule under what is, at best, a weak central government and from which the Kurds opt out under U.S. protection.

In the event of either (a) or (b) but especially (a), the U.S. would be in a strong position in the Middle East. It would have prevailed, albeit after great travails, and kept its enemies at bay. Lebanese democracy would probably survive; the other Arab states would have to take greater heed of U.S. policy; and the neighboring crises in Iran and Afghanistan would become easier to handle.

In the event of (c) or (d), Iran, Syria, and their terrorist allies would dominate the region in the medium term with appalling but unforeseeable circumstances. The U.S. would restore its local position over time, as it did after Vietnam, but doing so would be costly in several ways. It would require a larger military buildup than otherwise. It would have to spend valuable resources to recover lost ground—probably in Iraq itself because of its strategic importance. And it would have to be more ruthless in gaining its objectives. The less your enemies fear you, the greater the blow you must strike to get their attention. So one paradoxical effect of an Iraqi defeat and withdrawal might be the greater likelihood of a military strike against Iran.

SPREADING DEMOCRACY OR ENCOURAGING LIBERTY?

Whatever its outcome, Iraq has raised the bar for future military interventions by the U.S. This is a political fact irrespective of whether it really follows from the Iraqi experience. It will be only marginally influenced by what kind of government eventually emerges in Baghdad. But this fact will itself influence the broader Bush policy of promoting democracy. If the military muscle of the U.S. is less available to support it, that policy will have to be both more cautious and more dependent on local political forces. It will have to become a policy of encouraging liberty and liberal institutions in current autocracies rather than promoting democracy,

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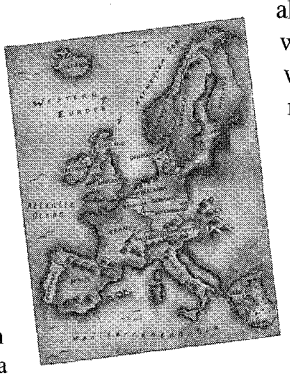
which inevitably threatens the existing ruler. It will have to be evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

That is probably desirable and perhaps necessary for other reasons. It meets America's major needs. It seeks to improve the life of Arab and Islamic societies so that they cease to be the breeding grounds of terrorism. It does not put Washington at odds with friendly regimes (though it will create tensions with them). And it would be consistent with a policy of opening up markets and freeing trade, since liberalism connects economic with other freedoms.

A policy of planting democracy in other cultures, on the other hand, is a form of liberal imperialism that would either fail or require the U.S. to be a presence for several generations as a tutor. Individual Americans would have to live and work in Iraq and other evolving democracies for their entire working lives. Nineteenth-century Britons were prepared to do that; 21st-century Americans are not.

Lest I be accused of wisdom after the event, let me quote what I wrote in NR more than two years ago:



> If promoting an abstract democracy is U.S. policy, then we become adversaries of those states—Jordan, for instance—that are relatively liberal autocracies and U.S. allies. Friendly encouragement to move in a democratic direction, however, is perfectly compatible with a policy of extending the blessings of liberty. It is also the approach that dovetails best with American interests in the region. Leaning on the Saudis to liberalize their semi-totalitarian society similarly makes better sense than to urge a premature democratization likely to produce an extreme fundamentalist anti-American government. As a general rule, indeed, extending liberty is less likely to threaten stability and bring Islamo-fascists to power than directly promoting democracy.

After all, America is a status quo power in its attitude to the international order. It seeks sensible reforms of existing structures, such as the U.N., to make them both more efficient and more accountable; and to prevent changes that would damage U.S. interests, such as a Kyoto-style body empowered to set binding carbon-emission targets on nations and corporations. Its legitimate interest in extending democracy is at this level: It should seek to rein in the trans-nationalist elites and subject them to the control of democratic national governments. One important reform in that direction would be to remove from the U.N. bureaucracy and its NGO hangers-on their role in setting a political agenda for the world through the device of U.N. conferences on various "rights." Another would be to establish a democratic bloc within the U.N.

Notwithstanding some rhetorical excesses by neoconservatives, the U.S. is not a revolutionary power that seeks to impose its system of government on other countries. And if it were, it would not be pursuing a policy that could be described as conservative in any tradition. The U.S. Navy in World War II outlined a genuinely conservative approach when it warned sailors visiting foreign ports that they would encounter many things that struck them as strange and repulsive but went on: "The principle we are fighting for in this war is 'Live and let live.'"

FRIENDS IN LOW PLACES

Whether fighting the War on Terror or containing China, the U.S. needs allies. These are tasks that cannot be accomplished alone. But what allies—and what kind of alliance—should the U.S. seek? There are broadly four choices:

Coalitions of the willing. Given that the premise is the need for allies, the option of pure isolationism does not really exist. But those nervous of permanent or "entangling" alliances will tend to choose coalitions of the willing. These are ad hoc alliances, defined and determined by the mission. Their members share three characteristics: They share the same risk analysis; they have useful resources; and they are willing to act. John Bolton's Proliferation Security Initiative, one of the Bush administration's most useful foreign-policy innovations, was a good example. It has no permanent secretariat; it imposes no restraint on the sovereignty of its members; and it lapses into inactivity when there is no evidence of contraband WMD. Coalitions of this kind are extremely useful, but there is no reason they cannot be organized inside more formal alliance structures. Indeed, the phrase "coalitions of the willing" originated in NATO to deal with missions of which not all member-states approved. And they work more easily if the coalition members are used to working with one another and have compatible equipment. Thus, they are a useful part of America's quiver of military relationships, but probably not the whole thing.

Continentalism. A hemispheric alliance or EU-style economic union for the Americas is a recurring illusion of the American Right. As 9/11 showed, there is no underlying sympathy for the U.S. and its economic arrangements and diplomatic stance of the kind that would be necessary for such an alliance to work. Almost no Latin American country was prepared to join America's military effort after 9/11. The economic fashion for "neo-liberalism" on the Reagan-Thatcher model was brief and has been followed by financial and political instability in Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, and elsewhere. There are some success stories, Chile famously, but better economic performance on the U.S. free-market model and better trade relations with the U.S. have not been accompanied by significantly closer diplomatic positions, let alone hints of a military alliance. President Chávez in Venezuela is extending the life of revolutionary Castroism at the very time that Castro is dying. He is also forging links with Iran and other Islamists in an avowedly anti-U.S. alliance. Since the U.S. now has millions of immigrants from Central and Latin America, this makes uncontrolled and illegal immigration a serious national-security risk. Elite plans for a North American Economic Union, dismissed as the fantasies of the "black helicopter" crowd but then confusingly confirmed by the establishment participants, are an escape from the real choices for U.S. policy and doomed to fail. But European experience suggests that they should be carefully watched since the fact that something cannot succeed almost guarantees that it will be tried.

Our European allies. Though they are all in NATO, the allies range from genuine and active friends of the U.S. (Britain, Poland) to outright anti-Americans and neutralists (Spain). Muslim immigration is weakening their attachment to the U.S. They were weak to start with since their addiction to welfare states has reduced their defense spending to less than 3 percent of GDP. And a whirlwind of anti-Americanism is roaring through Europe, sometimes encour-

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aged by governments as a way of building a European "identity." The U.S. cannot afford to dispense with the European allies, however. Though weakening, they represent some of the world's largest economies and some of its most efficient armed forces. If the alliance is to continue to be effective, however, the U.S. must radically change its policies towards Europe. It should cease to encourage European unity, which is now an engine of anti-Americanism; it should seek to divide pro-American states from anti-American ones; it should in particular seek to detach the British from their growing involvement in European military integration, since this puts at risk the close integration between U.S. and British military forces; and it should launch a campaign to combat anti-Americanism equal to the CIA campaign against Communism in the 1940s and 1950s. For some time, however, the U.S. must expect to be disappointed by the performance of its NATO allies. Changing this will be a long task.

The Anglosphere. Finally, we have the embryonic alliance that has emerged in the last few years among the countries of the English-speaking world. The U.S., Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and recently even Canada have cooperated in Afghanistan and Iraq. That cooperation builds on long relationships—the Aussies fought in every American war in the 20th century (and on the same side, too). The U.S. has also recently begun to forge a new military and diplomatic alliance with India. This new type of "coalition of the willing" works well because the cultural similarity between its peoples ensures that they see the world in roughly the same way. Ideally, the Anglosphere would function as a subsidiary alliance to NATO if the older alliance recovered its spirit. Otherwise, it could form the basis for U.S. policy on terrorism and the containment of China, and even serve as a balance against the anti-Americanism of a separatist Europe. For that to happen, however, the British would have to be weaned off the Europeanism to which we have been directing them since 1950.

* * *

It is in the nature of things that statesmen will not select one of the above broad strategies as a result of cool reflection, but instead will pick and choose among them as circumstances dictate and, if we are fortunate, blunder into the right combination of policies and stick to them. No approach will succeed, however, if we remain mired in our current cultural masochism. As writers as different as Mark Steyn and Christopher Hitchens have pointed out, this deprives us of the clear-sighted confidence to recognize and defend the rights of others as well as of ourselves.

Both the West and the Anglosphere are visibly rooted in the traditions of Christianity, the Enlightenment, and the scientific and industrial revolutions. The Anglosphere is in addition rooted in the ideals of Magna Carta and fairness that have led it to a position of unprecedented global power. Yet the Anglosphere in particular recognizes that its own dominance was not planned by philosophers or ideologues, and that man is severely limited in his ability to design the future progress of history. The ideas at the core of Western character cannot simply be dictated to others, any more than they were dictated to us in the first place. But they remain true ideas, and—if the West advances them with intelligence, prudence, and sensitivity to circumstances—will improve the life of mankind in the 21st century. **NR**

Families and First Principles

The conservative fight to protect life and defend marriage

ROBERT P. GEORGE

It may, at first blush, sound too sweeping to say that we have government to protect public health, safety, and morals, and to advance the general welfare.

Yet this statement does not imply an unlimited scope for government. Indeed, the general welfare itself requires that government be limited. Although government has primary responsibility for defending the nation from attack, protecting people from physical assaults and various other forms of depredation, and maintaining public order, its role is otherwise subsidiary: to support the work of the families, religious communities, and other institutions of civil society that shoulder the primary burden of forming upright and decent citizens, caring for those in need, encouraging people to meet their responsibilities to one another, and discouraging them from harming themselves or others.

Governmental respect for individual freedom and the autonomy of nongovernmental spheres of authority is, then, a requirement of political morality. Government must not try to run people's lives or usurp the roles and responsibilities of families, religious bodies, and other character- and culture-forming authoritative communities. This is wrong in principle, and the record of big government in the 20th century—even when it has not degenerated into vicious totalitarianism—shows that it does little good in the long run and frequently harms those it seeks to help.

And so it is that conservatives have rightly embraced—though more faithfully in theory than in practice, alas—the principle of limited government. Some conservatives have gone all the way to libertarianism, having become persuaded that government has *no* legitimate role to play beyond preventing violent force and fraud. The strict libertarian position, it seems to me, goes much too far in depriving government of even its subsidiary role. It underestimates the importance of maintaining a reasonably healthy moral ecology, especially for the rearing of children, and it fails to appreciate the legitimate, albeit once again limited, role of law and government in maintaining such an ecology. (I have developed and defended this point in *Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality* and elsewhere.) Even critics of libertarianism, however, must

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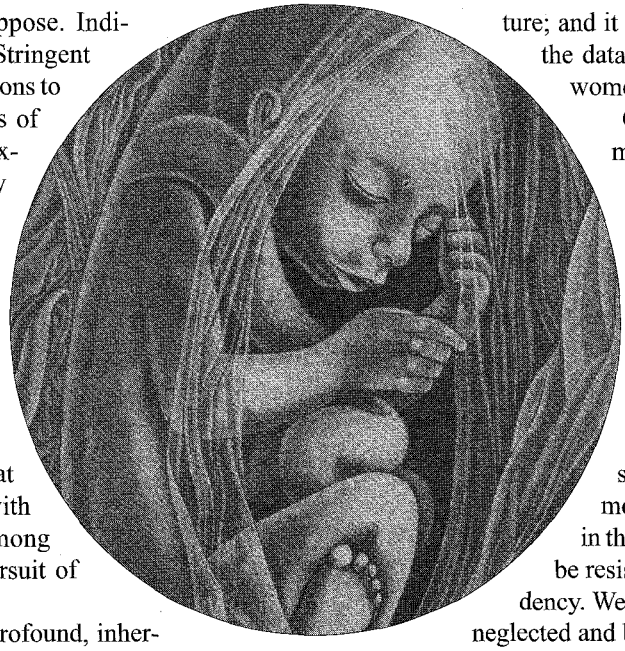
acknowledge that it responds to certain truths that have come increasingly into focus as experiments with big government, especially in its bureaucratic and managerial dimensions, have produced their disappointing—and sometimes deplorable—results.

Free markets are engines of economic growth, social mobility, and general prosperity. Economic freedom cannot guarantee political liberty and respect for individual rights beyond the sphere of economic exchange, but in the absence of economic liberty other honorable freedoms are rarely secure. Moreover, the concentration of economic power in the hands of government is something that every true friend of civil liberties should, by now, have learned to fear.

But there is an even deeper truth—one going beyond economics—to which libertarianism responds: Law and government exist to protect human persons and secure their well-being. It is not the other way round, as Communist and other forms of collectivist ideology suppose. Individuals are not cogs in a wheel. Stringent norms of political justice forbid persons to be treated as mere instrumentalities of the state. These norms equally exclude the sacrificing of the dignity and rights of persons for the sake of some supposed "greater good."



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But since we are going back to first principles, it is in season to ask: *Why not* subordinate the individual to the ends of the state?

In a few words, because "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Each human being possesses a profound, inherent, and equal dignity by virtue of his nature as a rational creature—a creature possessing, albeit in limited measure and in the case of some human beings merely in root or rudimentary form, the Godlike powers of reason and freedom. This great truth of natural law, which is at the heart of our civilizational and civic order, has its theological expression in the Biblical teaching that man is made in the image and likeness of God.

In thinking about our way forward on key social issues, it is critical to bear this truth in mind. We must not adopt a merely pragmatic understanding or speak only of practical considerations in addressing issues such as abortion, embryo-destructive stem-cell research, euthanasia, cloning, and marriage. These are inescapably moral issues, and though they have practical aspects, they cannot be adequately understood or rightly resolved in the absence of moral reflection and argument. That is why conservatives—from the rank and file, to the punditocracy, to the intellectual class, to the public officeholders—should rededicate themselves to understanding and making the moral case for the sanctity of human life in all stages and conditions, and the dignity of marriage as the conjugal union of one man and one woman.

Please do not misunderstand me. I am not saying that practical considerations should or even can be left out of the argument. In a proper understanding of morality, practical considerations are not "merely" practical. The moral case for the reform of unilateral-divorce laws, for example, includes reference to the devastating social consequences of the collapse of a healthy marriage culture and the role of unilateral divorce in contributing to the collapse. The moral argument for restoring legal protection to the unborn includes reference to the adverse psychological, and, in some cases, physical consequences of abortion on many women who undergo the procedure.

Of course, one compromises a moral argument when one disrespects the truth by lying or exaggerating to advance one's cause, no matter how noble it is. This is a classic case of the need to avoid immoral means, even in pursuit of morally worthy ends. So it is important not to cook the data or hype the role of unilateral divorce in damaging the marriage culture; and it is important not to claim more than the data will bear about abortion's harm to women.

Our task should be to understand the moral truth and speak it in season and out of season. We will be told by the pure pragmatists that the public is too far gone in moral relativism or even moral delinquency to be reached by moral argument. We will be advised to make the moral arguments to the social-conservative "base" but to frame those arguments in coded language so as not to scare off the soccer moms or whoever is playing their role in the next election cycle. All of this must be resisted. We must, to be sure, avoid stridency. We must, to be sure, practice the much-neglected and badly underrated virtue of prudence.

But we must have faith that truth is luminously powerful: so that if we bear witness to the truth about, say, marriage and the sanctity of human life—lovingly, civilly, but with passion and determination—and if we honor the truth in advancing our positions, then even many of our fellow citizens who now find themselves on the other side of these issues will—some sooner, some later—come around.

To speak of truth frightens many people today. At least they seem to be frightened when conservatives speak of truth. They evidently believe that people who claim to know the truth about anything—and especially about moral matters—are "fundamentalists" and potential totalitarians. But this is silly. As Hadley Arkes has patiently explained in the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW and elsewhere, those on the other side of the great debates over social issues such as abortion and marriage make truth claims—moral truth claims—all the time. They assert their positions with no less confidence and no more doubt than one finds in the advocacy of pro-lifers and defenders of conjugal marriage. They proclaim a woman's "fundamental right" to abortion. They insist with moral conviction that "love makes a family." They condemn "Bush's immoral war in Iraq." The

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question is not whether there are truths about the morality of abortion and the nature of marriage; the question in each case is: What is the truth?

PROTECTION TRULY EQUAL

The truth about human embryos and fetuses is that they are living individuals of the species *Homo sapiens*—members of the human family—at early stages of their natural development. Each of us was once an embryo, just as each of us was once an adolescent, a child, an infant, and a fetus. Each of us developed from the embryonic into and through the fetal, infant, child, and adolescent stages of our lives, and into adulthood, with his or her distinctness, unity, and identity fully intact. We were never mere "parts" of our mothers; we were, from the beginning, complete, self-integrating organisms that developed to maturity by a gradual, gapless, and self-directed process.

The profound, inherent, and equal dignity of every human being demands that all human beings be respected and protected irrespective not merely of race, sex, and ethnicity, but also of age, size, location, stage of development, and condition of dependency. Even if we were to adopt a strict libertarian position on the role of government, the facts of human embryology and developmental biology, combined with the commitment—shared by conservatives of all stripes, including libertarians—to honoring the dignity of each human individual, would compel us to strive to protect, through the law, the child in the womb as well as the embryonic human being who happens to begin his existence in a petri dish. Notice that it would not be enough merely to look for ways to cut the abortion rate and to search for ethical means of obtaining stem cells of the type procured today by killing human embryos. These are worthy goals, to be sure, but justice demands more. It demands the protection of the law. To exclude anyone from this protection is to treat him unjustly.

Of course, politics is the art of the possible. And public opinion (and other constraints) sometimes limits what can be done at the moment to advance any just cause. The pro-life movement has in recent years settled on an incrementalist strategy for protecting nascent human life. So long as incrementalism is not a euphemism for

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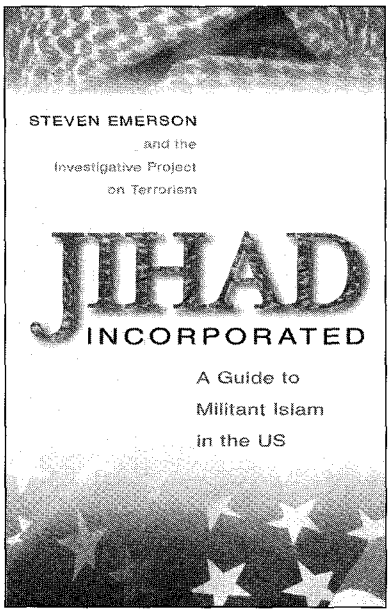

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surrender or neglect or compromises that leave grave injustices permanently in place, it can be entirely honorable. The goal must be to accomplish in law and policy all that can be accomplished in the prevailing circumstances, while working to move public opinion in directions more respectful of human life so as to make possible further advances in law and policy. Indeed, often it is the small victories in the political domain that help get public opinion moving in the right direction, thus establishing the conditions for greater achievements. Planting premises in the law whose logic demands, in the end, full respect for all members of the human family can be a valuable thing to do, even where those premises seem modest.

The great example here is Professor Arkes's Born Alive Infant Protection Act, passed by a previous Congress and signed into law by President Bush. By formally protecting the handful of children each year who survive abortions despite the abortionists' best efforts to dispatch them, the act plants in the law the proposition that the developing child is a being whose claims on us do not depend on whether someone else happens to want him or her. The act pressed upon supporters of abortion a profoundly uncomfortable question: Is the right to abortion a right to be free of pregnancy or a right to destroy a developing child? If the latter—and, of course, destroying the child is the abortionist's precise objective—then what is the moral or logical argument against supporting the exercise of the right once the child has been delivered from its mother's body? Why isn't the right to abortion the right to an *effective* abortion? Yet even most supporters of abortion recoil at the thought of killing the child outside the womb—even if he or she has been targeted for abortion. My Marxist professors in college described strategies of this sort as "heightening the contradictions." If people are opposed to killing the child when she is "out," how can they find it acceptable to kill her when she happens to be "in"? She is, after all, the same child.

The other great recent legislative accomplishment of the pro-life movement was getting a ban on partial-birth abortions through Congress and onto the desk of a president who was willing to sign it. The debate over partial-birth abortion has been extremely helpful in focusing the public's attention on what abortion is. It has deeply damaged the efforts of the pro-abortion movement to cover up the reality of abortion with euphemisms such as "termination of pregnancy," "products of conception," and "choice." It has brought certain facts home to many Americans who were perhaps a bit unsure of them: "It's a child, not a choice"; "Abortion stops a beating heart"; "A fetus is not potential life, but a life with potential." These are slogans, to be sure, but they have the advantage of being true.

At the same time, sonography is reinforcing the message. Improvements in this technology offer a virtual window into the womb. There we view the wondrous and wondrously human life of the child before he or she is born. Among the goals that the pro-life movement should continue to pursue with vigor is making high-quality sonography more widely available. Predictably—and understandably—the forces of abortion are fighting this, even claiming that sonograms should be avoided because they may harm the fetus! Public resources as well as private funds can help here, especially when it comes to supporting the compassionate, woman-affirming work of pro-life clinics around the country.

Speaking of these clinics, we should be promoting candidates for legislative office who will, in federal and state chambers, have the courage and strength to work for the defunding of abortion promoters at home and abroad, and the funding of those who aid pregnant women in need by offering them moral and material support, protection from abusive boyfriends or others, adoption services, and other forms of assistance. The pro-life movement is genuinely pro-mother and pro-child, though the abortion-supporting media rarely give it credit for this.

To strike at the very heart of abortion it will be necessary to achieve the pro-life movement's longest-standing goal: the reversal of *Roe* v. *Wade*.

Of course, to strike at the very heart of abortion it will be necessary to achieve the pro-life movement's longest-standing goal: the reversal of *Roe* v. *Wade*, the 1973 decision whose effect is to prohibit almost any significant restrictions on abortion. Overturning *Roe* would send the issue of abortion back to the forums of democratic deliberation. Activist courts in some states would continue to block pro-life initiatives, even if it were possible to get significant abortion restrictions through the legislatures. But there are many states where the courts have not, and likely will not, offer state-level rulings equivalent to *Roe*, and these are the states that would be most likely to enact significant protections for the unborn. At the same time, it would be necessary to fight hard at the national level to resist a federal legislative reenactment of the *Roe* regime—something that the cultural-political Left would force the Democratic leadership of Congress to push to the top of its agenda if *Roe* fell. It might even be necessary to win certain forms of federal protection for the unborn, going beyond what has been accomplished by the Born Alive Act and the partial-birth abortion ban.

Will *Roe* fall anytime soon? Everything seems to depend on whether a pro-*Roe* justice leaves the Supreme Court during the remainder of President Bush's term (and Bush is able to get a constitutionalist nominee through the Senate), or whether the next president will appoint constitutionalist judges to the Court. Bush's two appointees, John Roberts and Samuel Alito, are outstanding jurists, and assuming they remain faithful to their con-

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stitutionalist principles—as I expect them to do—they bring the anti-*Roe* faction of the Court up to four. So there is one more to go. If a vacancy occurs under a Republican administration, nothing will be more important to the pro-life cause then persuading the president to nominate a jurist in the mode of Roberts, Alito, Scalia, and Thomas, and then waging an effective campaign for the nominee's confirmation. Since abortion supporters will know that *Roe* hangs in the balance, they will mount a ferocious campaign to defeat the nominee. And the failure of their efforts to stop Thomas, Roberts, and Alito notwithstanding, they are very good at such campaigns. With the Senate in Democratic hands, it will take enormous savvy and determination on the conservative side to win the battle.

THE GRAVER THREAT

Abortion is an issue of profound moral significance. Our posture toward it determines to a large extent whether we are a people "dedicated to the proposition" that all are created equal. But a specter yet graver than abortion haunts us as biotechnology moves forward. There is much in this advance to applaud. Various technologies will bring healing and relieve human suffering without raising moral concerns. No one should be "against" biotechnology. It is a good thing, indeed a very good thing, *if it respects basic moral principles, especially the sanctity of human life.*

We who seek the protection of all innocent human life do not have the political strength to protect "spare" human embryos in cryopreservation units that can under prevailing law be destroyed, or donated for research in which they are destroyed to obtain stem cells. By wielding his veto pen, however, President Bush has blocked any federal funding for research that involves killing embryos. That is a significant pro-life achievement. The president kept his word even when pure political calculation would have counseled a different course.

Most parents of cryopreserved embryos are unwilling to destroy them or donate them for research, though some see donating them to science as a way to do something beneficial with them once the decision has been made not to have them implanted. The pro-life movement rightly rejected the argument that research in which these embryos are destroyed is morally acceptable, and should be eligible for federal funding, because "the embryos are going to die anyway." Just as we recoil from harvesting organs even from death-row inmates who "are going to die anyway," we should not permit human beings in any stage or condition to be reduced to disposable research material. President Bush, joined by many in the pro-life movement, has promoted embryo adoption as a pro-life alternative.

The real issue, though, is not the use of cryopreserved embryos produced by in vitro fertilization. It is rather the creation, by cloning, of human embryos to be destroyed either in the blastocyst stage (days 5 to 6) or later in gestation. I say this for two reasons. First, there are not nearly enough cryopreserved embryos for use in the research scientists wish to do. At most 15,000 to 20,000 would be eligible. If embryonic stem cells become usable in therapies to treat major diseases—indeed, even if they prove useful in treating a single major disease—hundreds of thousands of embryos, perhaps millions, will be needed in relatively short order. Second, in vitro embryos are all products of the genetic lottery. They are not a genetic match to the patient who would be treated. As with vital organ transplantation, this raises the likelihood of rejection and the need for immunosuppression and other medical interventions that create difficulties and dangers of their own. Cloning holds out the possibility of providing a magic bullet to solve the problem. Since the embryonic clone would be a twin of the donor, the rejection problem would probably be very substantially reduced. Cloning has not yet been perfected, but it very likely will be. Thus we face the prospect of human life being manufactured on a massive scale in order to be destroyed in biomedical work.

Stem cells of the sort we now have debates about—those obtained by destroying human embryos in the blastocyst stage—cannot currently be used in therapies and may never prove to be therapeutically useful. Despite the promises of magic cures, these stem cells—whether obtained from in vitro embryos or (judging from nonhuman animal experimentation) clones—are highly unstable and tend to generate tumors. That is why there is not a single embryonic-stem-cell therapy even in stage one of clinical

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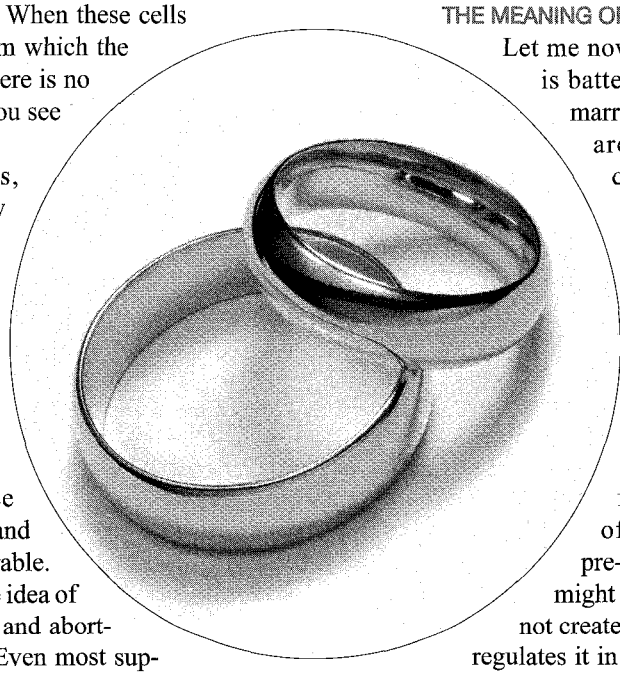
trials. (By contrast, there are hundreds of trials in progress using non-embryonic cells, such as those obtained harmlessly from umbilical-cord blood, bone marrow, and other uncontroversial sources.) Apparently, no one quite knows even how to begin thinking about the extraordinarily complex challenges of stabilizing embryonic cells so that they can be used in therapies.

No one, that is, except Mother Nature. And this raises another alarming prospect—and a moral challenge to be met. As the embryo develops in utero, its cells are stabilized by a remarkable process of intercellular communication. After several weeks or a few months, they in effect stabilize each other while retaining their pluripotency—that is, their capacity to be transformed into various forms of tissue. Experiments with cows show that the problem of tumor formation can be overcome by cloning embryos, implanting them in cows, allowing them to gestate to a certain developmental point, aborting the calf fetuses, and harvesting their stem cells. When these cells are then injected into the cows from which the cloned fetal calves were created, there is no evidence of tumor formation. Do you see where this goes?



Legislation in several states, including my home state of New Jersey, proposes to make state funding available for the macabre practice of human fetal farming. Congress, however, was persuaded to pass a preemptive ban on the practice, which President Bush signed. This is a fine example of the pro-life movement's looking ahead to problems likely to arise three to five years down the road and acting while public opinion is favorable. Most Americans are horrified by the idea of creating a human life, gestating it, and aborting it to harvest cells and tissues. Even most supporters of abortion are repulsed by this possibility—at least for now. But for those who would like to go down that path, there is always hope that the promise of miracle cures can be used to erode public resistance. Hence the legislation in New Jersey and elsewhere, laying the groundwork for fetal farming. Although the congressional prohibition is an important achievement, it includes a loophole that should be closed: Technically, it would not be illegal to gestate an embryo in an *artificial* womb. This perhaps sounds outlandish, but such technologies might well become available in the not-too-distant future. With that possibility in view, we should press Congress to return to the issue.

Our long-term goal should be a comprehensive ban on all forms of human cloning, including the creation of embryos to be destroyed in research. Sen. Sam Brownback has led the fight for this in the United States Senate, and he deserves hearty congratulations for his leadership. Unfortunately, several Senate seats will have to be taken from pro-cloning Democrats—or, I'm sorry to say, pro-cloning Republicans, such as Orrin Hatch and Arlen Specter—if a cloning ban is to be achieved. Legal cloning would be bad enough, but the pro-cloning forces in Congress have a long-term goal of their own: federal funding for the creation of research embryos by cloning. If there is a true moral nightmare in our future, it is a massive, federally funded industry in the manufacture and destruction of human beings.

At the state level, there is also much to be done. In some states, bans on cloning are possible. In others, the most we can hope for is to defeat legislation that would promote cloning and fund it with state dollars. In November, pro-life forces narrowly failed to defeat a pro-cloning initiative—deceptively dressed up as an anti-cloning referendum—in Missouri, despite being massively outspent by cloning advocates. That battle taught us a great deal about how to get the facts about cloning and embryo-destructive research to the public. And I have a feeling that Missourians Against Human Cloning will be back to fight another day.

THE MEANING OF MATRIMONY

Let me now turn to marriage. The institution is battered, but it is not lost. Private pro-marriage forces, such as Marriage Savers, are doing important work through churches and other institutions. Much damage to the critically important marriage culture was done by bad legislation and policy, almost always in the name of reform. That legislation and policy is now itself in need of reform.

The conservative movement should remember what marriage is and why it is in the public interest for law and policy to take cognizance of it and support it. Marriage is a pre-political form of association—what might be called a natural institution. It is not created by law, though law recognizes and regulates it in every culture. Nowhere is it treated as a purely private matter, the way we (rightly) treat baptisms and bar mitzvahs. Some on the libertarian wing of conservatism toy with the idea that marriage could in fact be privatized, and wonder whether that might be the solution to the controversy over same-sex "marriage."

I understand why someone would consider this idea, but it strikes me as a very bad one. There is a reason that all cultures treat marriage as a matter of public concern and even recognize it in law and regulate it. The family is the fundamental unit of society. It is the original and best department of health, education, and welfare. Governments rely on families to produce something that they could not possibly produce—namely, upright, decent people who make honest, law-abiding, public-spirited citizens. And marriage is the indispensable foundation of the family. Although all marriages in all cultures have their imperfections, children flourish in an environment where they benefit from the love and care of both parents, and from the committed and exclusive love of their parents for each other.

Conservatives of all stripes—and, indeed, anyone who believes in limited government—should, far from favoring the privatization of marriage, strongly back government support for

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it. In the absence of a strong marriage culture, families fail to form; when they do form they are often unstable; absentee fathers become a serious problem; out-of-wedlock births are common; and a train of social pathologies follows. With families failing to perform their health, education, and welfare functions, the demand for government to step in grows, whether in the form of greater policing, as an arbiter of conflicts between unmarried parents, or as a provider of other social services. Bureaucracies must be created, and they inexorably grow. Everyone suffers—with the poorest and most vulnerable (and therefore most reliant on a healthy marriage culture) suffering most. Someone has to pay for policing and massively increased social services, and that someone is of course the taxpayer. Anyone who cares about the plight of the poor, and anyone who believes the government takes too much of the people's money, should think about the role marriage plays in a healthy society and join the effort to revitalize and protect it.

I have in other writings made the moral case for the conjugal conception of marriage as the union of one man and one woman pledged to permanence and fidelity and committed to caring for children who come as the fruit of their union. I have argued that these pathologies are widespread, and that conservatives, being human, are not immune to them. This is not to excuse anyone from personal responsibility. But the fact is that sustaining a marriage despite the collapse of many of its social supports is difficult for anyone. In trying to stand up for marriage, conservatives who have had marital problems are subjected to charges of hypocrisy. Many therefore censor themselves. As a result, the pro-marriage movement loses the leadership of some of its most talented people.

The question of same-sex "marriage" is critically important, but rebuilding and renewing the marriage culture goes far beyond it. By abolishing the basic understanding of marriage as an inherently conjugal union, legal recognition of same-sex "marriage" would be disastrous. But many would say that such recognition would simply ratify the collapse of marriage that followed from widespread divorce, non-marital sexual cohabitation, and other factors having nothing to do with homosexual conduct. It is certainly true that the origins of the pathologies afflicting marriage lie in such factors. Rebuilding the marriage culture will require careful, incremental legal reforms to, for example, roll back unilateral divorce, accompanied by Herculean

There is a reason that all cultures treat marriage as a matter of public concern and even recognize it in law and regulate it. The family is the fundamental unit of society.

acceptance of the idea that two persons of the same sex could actually be married to each other would make nonsense of key features of marriage, and would necessarily require abandoning any ground of principle for supposing that marriage is the union of only two persons, as opposed to three or more. Only a thin veneer of sentiment, if it happens to exist, can prevent acceptance of polyamory as a legitimate marital option once we have given up the principle of marriage as a male-female union.

The effective defense of marriage against the current onslaught will require an understanding of what marriage is (and is not) as a matter of moral truth. Practical or pragmatic arguments are, as I said earlier, legitimate and important. But not enough conservative pundits, leaders, and politicians are willing to say much about what marriage actually is, perhaps because their understanding of it, though perfectly sound, is informal and implicit. This gives the other side an important advantage. They hammer away with their rhetoric of "love makes a family" and demand to know how anyone's marriage would be threatened if the same-sex partners next door were also allowed to "marry." (Of course, if love makes a family, then seven people who love each other and wish to express that love in a sexual partnership can be married to each other, and presumably their "marriage" would no more harm their neighbors' marriages than would the "marriage" of a same-sex couple.)

Part of the trouble conservatives have in defending marriage against the pathologies afflicting it follows from the fact that efforts on the part of nongovernmental institutions—especially churches and other religious bodies—to prepare couples more adequately for marriage, help them establish and nurture strong marital relationships, and assist those who are dealing with marital problems. Public-private partnerships will be essential, in my view, to cutting the divorce rate and locking in the cuts. This won't be easy. If marriage weren't so important, it wouldn't be worth trying.

As with abortion, same-sex "marriage" is being advanced by liberal activist judges who exercise creative powers of constitutional interpretation. That gives us reason to pursue with new dedication the larger fight against the judicial usurpation of democratic legislative authority. State courts have given the supporters of same-sex marriage some important early victories, especially in Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Jersey (though in the latter two states the courts did not order that the word "marriage" be attached to legally recognized same-sex partnerships), and those supporters are in a position to fight hard to secure their gains in democratic forums and even to advance them.

Despite extraordinarily broad support for same-sex "marriage" among the elites (including, of course, the universities and the media), initiatives to preserve marriage as the union of one man and one woman have prevailed, usually by decisive margins, every time they have been put on the ballot but once. (The exception—Arizona—already had a legal definition of

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marriage as a male-female union in its state law, and there were other unusual complications.) Even in the blue state of Wisconsin, a marriage initiative prevailed in a near-landslide last November—in the course of what was around the country a big night for Democrats. With the Federal Marriage Amendment stalled—even many Republicans unwisely decline to support it—state marriage initiatives and constitutional amendments are vitally important. The issue should be taken to the people at every possible opportunity. Even in the bluest states, marriage will have a stronger chance with the people than with the judges. Indeed, marriage fares better with the people than with their elected representatives. The California state legislature enacted same-sex "marriage." Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, though hardly a great defender of conjugal marriage, vetoed the bill because it contradicted a recent referendum in which a proposition defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman passed by a large margin.

QUESTIONS FOR CANDIDATES

I suspect that all of the Republican candidates for president this year—and possibly all of the Democratic candidates—will say they oppose same-sex marriage and favor retaining the definition of marriage as the union of a man and a woman. Every one of them should be asked this question: Why?

If they don't know why they believe that marriage is a conjugal union, or can't say, then they are unlikely to be much help—or even to be willing to expend much effort—in preserving it.

The next question each candidate should be asked is: What are you going to do to ensure that marriage remains the union of a man and a woman? And they should not be let off the hook easily. Some will give an answer about federalism, and conservatives will have to decide whether they find this answer adequate. I do not. Just as the nation could not endure half slave and half free but eventually had to go one way or the other, we will not be able to get by with a situation in which some couples are "married" in one state, not married when they move to or travel through the next, and married again when they reach a third. If same-sex "marriage" is legally recognized in a small number of states, it will spread throughout the nation, either through judicial action under the Constitution's Full Faith and Credit Clause or by virtue of informal cultural pressures. Some states may try to hold out, but the courts will eventually force them into line. That is why we need a national resolution of the issue, and probably a constitutional one. Social conservatives did not start this fight, and we are loath to interfere with traditional state powers. But judicial usurpation has put into operation a chain of events that will result in the radical redefinition of marriage unless action is taken at the national level—going beyond the Defense of Marriage Act (which may yet be struck down by the courts)—to preserve the conjugal conception of marriage. That is why I will want to know from candidates seeking my vote whether they are prepared to support the Federal Marriage Amendment. We are still a long way from having the votes in Congress to pass it, but that is all the more reason to demand leadership from conservative politicians.

Finally, there is the question of civil unions. Some candidates will say they are against same-sex unions but in favor of legal recognition of same-sex partnerships, with all or most of the rights and responsibilities of marriage falling under a different rubric. If law and policy are at least to do no harm to marriage, it is critical that they avoid treating non-marital conduct and relationships as if they were marital. There are clear moral lines—and not merely semantic ones—between what is marital and what is not, and the law should respect them. If they are blurred or erased, the public understanding of the meaning of marriage will erode.

Some of the benefits traditionally associated with marriage may legitimately be made more widely available in an effort to meet the needs of people who are financially interdependent with a person or persons to whom they are not married. Private contracts between such people should be sufficient to accomplish most of what they consider desirable. If, however, a jurisdiction moves in the direction of creating a formalized system of domestic partnerships, it is critical that the privileges, immunities, and other benefits and responsibilities contained in the package offered to non-married partners *not* be predicated on the existence or presumption of a sexual relationship between them. Benefits should be made available to, for example, a grandparent and adult grandchild who are living together and caring for each other. The needs that domestic-partnership schemes seek to address have nothing to do with whether the partners share a bed and what they do in it. The law should simply take no cognizance of the question of a sexual relationship. It should not, that is, treat a non-marital sexual relationship as a public good.

The defense of life against abortion and cloning calls America back to the founding principles of our regime, which guarantee basic rights to all human beings. The defense of marriage, meanwhile, shores up the cultural preconditions for a regime so founded to work in practice. These causes are therefore not to be considered a distraction from other conservative goals, or mere items on a list of such goals. They are, in short, causes that spring from our first principles as conservatives, and as free Americans. **NR**

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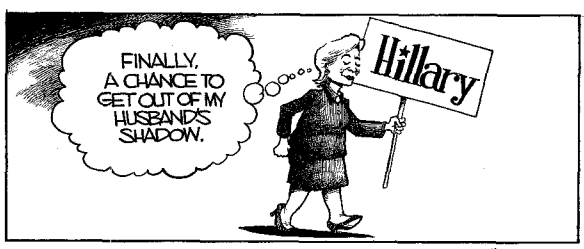
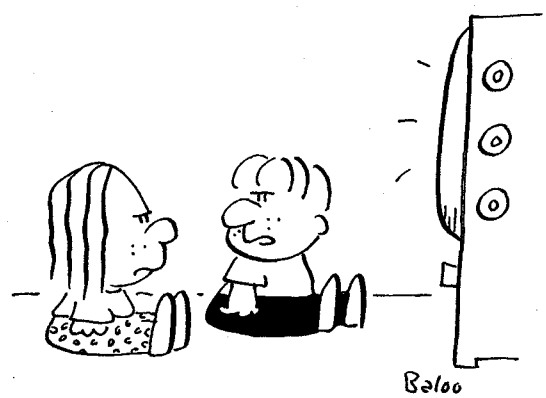
"We're all Keynesians now, right?"





"Fred Flintstone isn't either a male chauvinst pig!"

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the long view

ROB LONG

NSA Surveillance Transcript

Ambient Radio
Frequency Eavesdrop:
Washington, D.C., Area

Begin extract:

[Static. Crackles.]

UNIDENTIFIED MALE VOICE: "Senator Clinton, can you hear me? Don't say anything, or Russert will notice the IFB in your ear. Just clear your throat. Can you do that?"

[Sound of female voice clearing throat.]

UMV: "Excellent, excellent. Now, Senator, try not to shift around a lot during the interview, if you can. You're wired up pretty tightly. Okay, Senator, sound check done. Mark, can you read me in Iowa?"

UNIDENTIFIED SECOND MALE VOICE: "We've got you. The focus group is seated and ready."

UMV: "Terrific. Okay, Senator, we're ready to roll."

[Sound of *Meet the Press* main title theme.]

UNIDENTIFIED THIRD MALE VOICE: "Welcome to *Meet the Press*. I'm Tim Russert, and my guest this morning is Sen. Hillary Clinton—"

USMV: "Paul, the group thinks her smile is scary."

UMV: "Senator, can you make the smile less scary?"

RUSSERT: "—in Iraq. And I'm wondering, Senator, how you respond to that?"

SENATOR CLINTON: "Well, Tim, first of all, I think it's important for those of us in Washington to listen to the people of America, the moms and—"

USMV: "She's losing the dads. Dad dials are down!"

UMV: "Senator, moms and dads! Moms AND dads!"

SENATOR CLINTON: ". . . and, Tim, we so often forget the dads, the fathers in America who work hard . . ."

USMV: "Getting dad dials back. Her face is getting squinchy. Young marrieds 25 to 40 are reacting to the squinchy face."

UMV: "Senator, can you unsquinch your face a bit? We're getting dials down from the YMs."

RUSSERT: ". . . of the Bush plan to increase the number of troops in Iraq, which, before the midterm elections, before you declared yourself a candidate for the presidency, you were in favor of, and I'm wondering . . ."

USMV: "Wow! Iowa's getting a lot of anger from her. Dials way down."

UMV: "Senator, you're coming across angry. Can you lighten your reaction?"

RUSSERT: ". . . that's what you said in September of 2006. Why are you smiling, Senator?"

SENATOR CLINTON: "Well, Tim, it's just that obviously the situation on the ground in Iraq has changed. We've had military setbacks and political setbacks and this administration has done nothing to . . ."

USMV: "Nice! Nice bump back."

UMV: "Keep smiling, Senator! Iowa's responding to that!"

SENATOR CLINTON: ". . . and hundreds of dead American soldiers, devastated families, thousands of casualties . . ."

USMV: "Don't smile NOW! Tell her to stop smiling when she's talking about dead Americans! We're losing key demos. Except, you know, for the kids."

UMV: "Senator, stop smiling. Repeat: STOP smiling."

SENATOR CLINTON: ". . . which is no laughing matter. It's something I feel very strongly about, and I know that the moms—and the very crucial dads—in America agree with me. And that's something, Tim, that I'll be discussing with people as I visit with them during this very historic campaign."

RUSSERT: "Let's talk about that a bit, Senator. I think it's fair to say that you're a very polarizing figure . . ."

USMV: "Uh-oh."

UMV: "Hold on, Senator. Relax the jaw. Try to get that slightly wounded, baffled look we worked on."

USMV: "We're losing men."

UMV: "Which demo?"

USMV: "All of them. 18 to 49. 49 to 65. Dials way, way down."

SENATOR CLINTON: ". . . as they get to know me. Look, Tim, a campaign is really just a conversation that the country has with itself—moms and those irreplaceable dads, kids, grandmas, and of course who can forget the grandpas—as we try to sort out the challenges we face today and the challenges we need to prepare for. With God's help and grace . . ."

UMV: "Doing great, Senator. We're almost through."

USMV: "We've got stabilized dials for men 18 to 49 and all young marrieds. Women are coming back."

UMV: "We've got dials up, Senator."

RUSSERT: ". . . your husband, former president Bill Clinton, will have a role in your administration?"

USMV: "Dials up. Wait, dials down. Wait, dials up again."

UMV: "Which is it? She's just sitting there, staring at him."

RUSSERT: "Senator?"

SENATOR CLINTON: "Yes, Tim?"

RUSSERT: "Did you hear my question? About what role your husband might have in your administration?"

UMV: "Waiting for Iowa, Senator. Mark?"

USMV: "I'm getting dials all over the place. Tell her to wing it."

UMV: "No freaking way. We do NOT wing things in the Hillary Clinton campaign. What do marrieds 40 to 65 think?"

RUSSERT: "Senator? Is everything all right?"

USMV: "They say dump him."

UMV: "Dump him, Senator. Marrieds 40 to 65 say to dump him."

RUSSERT: "Surely this is something you've already considered?"

SENATOR CLINTON: "Well, yes, Tim, yes it is. And of course I have enormous respect for Bill Clinton, and what he accomplished. But I think that going forward it might be inappropriate to comment on what role, if any, my ex-husband may have in . . ."

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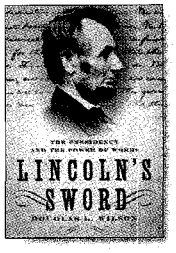
Words and History



Lincoln's Sword: The Presidency and the Power of Words,
by Douglas L. Wilson
(Knopf, 352 pp., $26.95)

The Gettysburg Gospel: The Lincoln Speech That Nobody Knows,
by Gabor Boritt
(Simon & Schuster, 432 pp., $28)

JEFFREY HART

WILLIAM SEWARD, the secretary of state, was not alone among Lincoln's cabinet members in thinking he should have been president instead of that crude individual from Illinois. But by March 4, 1861, Seward felt comfortable enough in his relations with Lincoln to suggest some language for the Inaugural Address. Seward proposed: "The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battlefields and so many patriotic graves, pass through all the hearts and all hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation."

Not at all bad. Lincoln made it immortal: "The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Lincoln's "mystic chords" do not "proceed" but are "stretching," which is more kinetic as well as colloquial, and they are stretching not from "so many battlefields" but from "memory," adding psychological plausibility and also the alliteration of "mystic" and "memory." Lincoln changes Seward's plural to singular in "living heart and hearthstone," as if speaking to a particular home, and again employs alliteration. He appeals to the visual and distinctively American imagination with the sweep of "all over this broad land." Lincoln's masterstroke, however, is to change the faux-supernatural cliché "guardian angel of our nation" to "the better angels of our nature," which shifts from divine agency to "our nature" at its best. Latent in this entire passage we find a comprehensive metaphor identifying the "Union" with a (political) Heaven in which those better angels of our nature touch and play upon those "mystic chords." On that March 4, however, even as he evoked the Heaven of Union, seven states had already seceded, others were on the edge, and so Lincoln also vowed to do his sworn duty as protector of the Constitution, emphasizing that he would protect federal property throughout the South. His prose poem has the smell of gunpowder and a core of steel.

Douglas Wilson, co-director of the Lincoln Studies Center at Knox College, begins his study of Lincoln's oratorical genius with the remarks the president-elect made from the train platform at Springfield, Ill., on February 11, 1861, as he left for Washington, D.C., "with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington." Did Lincoln even then know, given the magnitude of the looming secession crisis, that he would have to re-found the nation? That he might have to give it the "new birth of freedom" he would proclaim as the meaning of the war in his Gettysburg Address?

He had been through the debates with Stephen Douglas, wielding the "all men are created equal" of the Declaration as his "sword," as Douglas Wilson calls it. Under the pressure of history, Lincoln gave those words of 1776 a new and profounder meaning beyond their "original intent." Gabor Boritt, director of the Civil War Institute at Gettysburg College, understands—it is one of the many excellences of his new book, *The Gettysburg Gospel*—that "a living faith evolves, combining the 'ancient faith' with present needs." At Gettysburg, Boritt maintains, Lincoln "gave new life and new meaning to Jefferson's Declaration." The pressure of history shapes language, and the living language continues to shape history.

Neither Wilson nor Boritt explores in depth the particular sources of Lincoln's eloquence. For those, it is of the first importance to consider the constellation of Emerson, Whitman, and Lincoln. In his essay "The Poet" (1844), Emerson called for a new and distinctively American poet: "For it is not metres, but a metre-making argument, that makes a poem—a thought so passionate and alive, that, like the spirit of a plant or an animal, it has an architecture of its own. . . . The poets are . . . liberating gods."

Emerson was calling for something entirely new, an American poet, not a poet in the established English tradition. Emerson's essay caught the attention of Walt Whitman, then a newspaperman in Brooklyn. He said that Emerson "set me to a boil." The result was *Leaves of Grass* (1855). Emerson had called for such a poet—and here he was! He responded with his famous letter to Whitman (July 21, 1855): "I greet you at the beginning of a great career. . . . I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed . . . a great power."

That year, Lincoln, like Emerson, was reading *Leaves of Grass*, reading it aloud while reclining on the couch in the Springfield law office he shared with William Herndon, Lincoln's long legs extending over the end of the couch. As Daniel Mark Epstein showed in *Lincoln and Whitman* (2004), *Leaves of Grass* exerted a profound and singularly poetic effect on Lincoln's oratory, awakened him to the possibilities of language, made him less lawyer-like, his sentences becoming rhythmic, using alliteration, concrete imagery, striking metaphor. In the middle of the 19th century, with Emerson and Whitman behind him, Lincoln gave a new and defining voice to America.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and ded-

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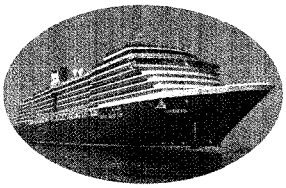

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NEW SPEAKERS SIGN ON!
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This is a *unique* opportunity to meet America's preeminent conservative celebrities: Original "definites" for our voyage were supply-side economist supreme **Arthur Laffer**, former Republican National Committee chairman **Ed Gillespie**, former Reagan National Security Advisor **Richard Allen**, legal scholar **Robert Bork**, former *NR* publisher **William Rusher**, National Review Online contributor and renowned military expert **Mackubin Owens**, NRO editors **Kathryn Jean Lopez** and **Jonah Goldberg**, plus *NR* editors **Rich Lowry**, **Kate O'Beirne**, **Jay Nordlinger**, and **Ramesh Ponnuru**.

Now we're happy to announce that this fantastic line-up will be even *more* impressive thanks to four new *phenomenal* speakers who have just RSVPed: ace political analyst and "Hillary" expert **Dick Morris**, former Maryland Lieutenant Governor **Michael Steele** (the GOP senate hopeful who almost pulled off the upset of the 2006 elections!), esteemed historian and NRO contributor **Victor Davis Hanson**, and military expert and former top State Department official **John Hillen**.

Over 300 *NR* readers—make certain you're one of them!—are expected to take this wonderful trip, which is why we most strongly urge you to act *now* to reserve your stateroom. Alaska cruises are *mega*-popular (so much so that, other than *NR*'s temporary allotment of cabins, the rest of the *Noordam* is sold out eight months in advance of sailing!) because of the region's raw beauty. For Mother Nature at her finest, you cannot beat the stunning waterways hugging the 49th State or the famous "Inside Passage." And as an unrivaled family vacation destination, how can you compete with an Alaska voyage, coming smack dab in the middle of the summer? You can't. So don't beat them, join them (with your family)!—on the ***National Review* 2007 Alaska Cruise.**

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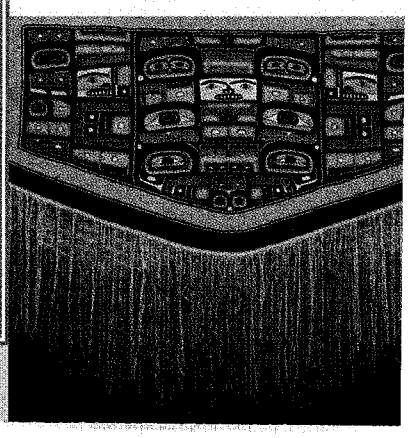
Sun./July 29	Seattle		4:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Mon./July 30	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars
Tues./July 31	Glacier Bay	10:00AM	4:00PM	morning seminar late-night poolside smoker
Wed./Aug. 1	Juneau, AK	7:00AM	8:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Thur./Aug. 2	Sitka, AK	8:00AM	5:00PM	late-night poolside smoker
Fri./Aug. 3	Ketchikan, AK	7:00AM	1:00PM	afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
Sat./Aug. 4	Victoria, B.C.	6:00PM	Midnight	morning seminar afternoon seminar
Sun./Aug. 5	Seattle	7:00AM		



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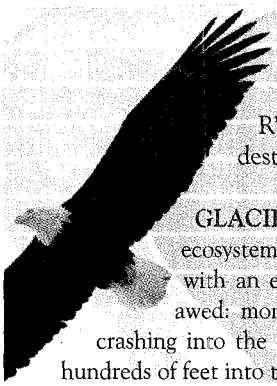

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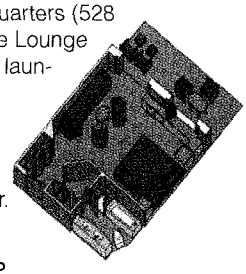
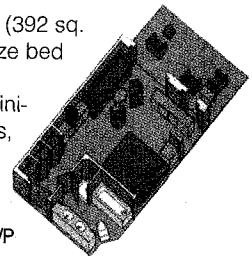
DELUXE SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (528 sq. ft.) features use of exclusive Neptune Lounge and personal concierge, complimentary laundry, pressing and dry-cleaning service. Large private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, and refrigerator.



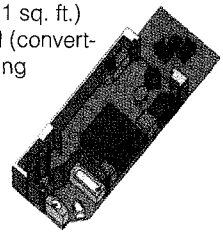
Category SA
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,479 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 9,799

SUPERIOR SUITE Grand stateroom (392 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.



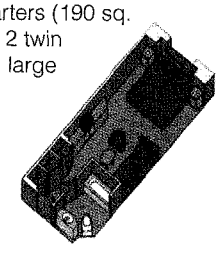
Category SS
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,299 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,499

DELUXE OUTSIDE Spacious cabin (241 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, tv, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.



Categories VA / VB / VC
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,699 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

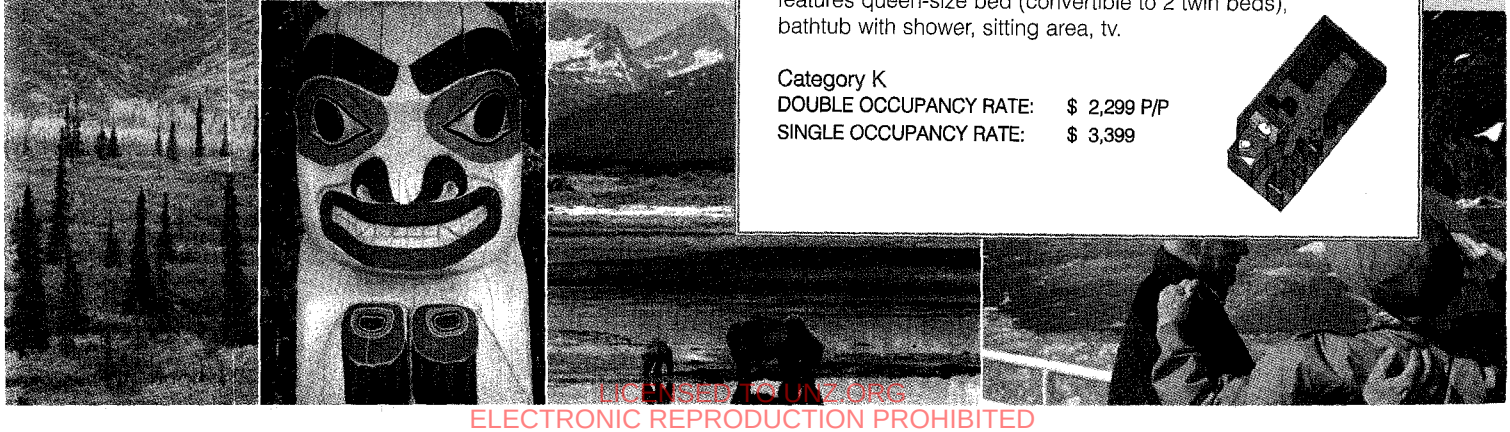
LARGE OCEAN VIEW Comfortable quarters (190 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv, large ocean-view windows.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,199

LARGE INSIDE Cozy but ample cabin quarters (185 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv.

Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,299 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,399



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Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Date of Birth _____ Size: S-XXL _____

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin) _____ Date of Birth _____ Size: S-XXL _____

Street Mailing Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

( ) _____

Daytime Phone _____ Email Address _____

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.) _____

Payment

A deposit of $500 **per person** is due with this application. If paid by credit card, the balance will be charged to the *same* card on 4/27/07 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 4/27/07, the full amount of the cruise will be charged. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $500 **per person** is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

_____
Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to February 27, 2007 cancellation penalty is $100 per person*
Febraury 27 to April 27, 2007cancellation penalty is $400 per person
AFTER *April 27, 2007cancellation penalty is 100% of cruise/package*

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all *gratuities, meals, entertainment, and National Review activities. Cruise-only rates include* all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from Seattle.
☐ *Include air with our package from* _____ *(see list below).*
☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $42 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

DINING w/ FRIENDS/FAMILY: I wish to dine with _____

☐ Every Night ☐ 3-4 times ☐ 2 times ☐ Once

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in Seattle.

Important!

PASSPORT REQUIRED! Everyone cruising, including children, will be required to bring a valid passport. Current passports must be valid through February 6, *2008*. Failure to do so will result in being denied boarding of the *Noordam*.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of *National Review*, as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, acts of terrorism, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, acts of terrorism, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions, or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor *National Review* shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: *You can simplify your air-travel arrangements* by taking advantage of **Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program**. The following per-person, economy-class prices for travel to and from the listed home city air gateways include transfers to and from the *Noordam* in Seattle, WA. First-Class air is available upon request. You cannot utilize frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class.

AL	Birmingham	$746	FL	Miami	$656	MA	Boston	$666	NY	Rochester	$696
	Huntsville	$736		Orlando	$656	MI	Detroit	$696		Syracuse	$696
	Mobile	$736		Pensacola	$656		Grand Rapids	$696	NC	Charlotte	$696
AK	Anchorage	$686		Tallahassee	$776		Saginaw	$706		Greensboro	$716
AR	Little Rock	$686		Tampa	$676		Traverse City	$716		Raleigh/Durham	$726
AZ	Phoenix	$456		West Palm Beach	$756	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	$676	ND	Bismark	$736
	Tucson	$496	GA	Atlanta	$656		Rochester	$736		Fargo	$736
CA	Burbank	$426		Savannah	$776	MS	Jackson	$666	OK	Oklahoma City	$676
	Fresno	$546	HI	Honolulu	$766	MO	Kansas City	$706		Tulsa	$666
	Los Angeles	$416	ID	Boise	$476		Springfield	$676	OH	Akron/Canton	$676
	Oakland	$436	IL	Chicago	$676		St. Louis	$686		Cincinnati	$656
	Ontario	$426		Moline	$686	MT	Billings	$506		Cleveland	$656
	Orange County	$426		Peoria	$686		Bozeman	$486		Columbus	$676
	Sacramento	$496	IN	Ft. Wayne	$686		Great Falls	$536		Dayton	$696
	San Diego	$446		Indianapolis	$656		Helena	$486	OR	Portland	$366
	San Francisco	$406	IA	Cedar Rapids	$676		Missoula	$486	PA	Allentown	$726
	San Jose	$436		Des Moines	$686	NE	Lincoln	$726		Harrisburg	$716
	Santa Barbara	$506	KS	Wichita	$646		Omaha	$636		Philadelphia	$676
CO	Col. Springs	$606	KY	Lexington	$686	NV	Las Vegas	$476		Pittsburgh	$676
	Denver	$556		Louisville	$706		Reno	$536		Wilkes-Barre	$746
CT	Hartford	$686	LA	Baton Rouge	$666	NJ	Newark	$656	PR	San Juan	$956
DC	Washington	$686		New Orleans	$636	NM	Albuquerque	$606	RI	Providence	$706
FL	Ft. Lauderdale	$656		Shreveport	$706	NY	Albany	$686	SC	Charleston	$676
	Ft. Myers	$716	ME	Portland	$726		Buffalo	$656		Columbia	$696
	Jacksonville	$666	MD	Baltimore	$666		New York	$676		Greenville	$696
									SD	Rapid City	$586
										Sioux Falls	$836
									TX	Amarillo	$766
										Austin	$566
										Corpus Christi	$676
										Dallas/Ft. Worth	$586
										El Paso	$606
										Houston	$546
										Lubbock	$756
										Midland/Odessa	$756
										San Antonio	$576
									TN	Chattanooga	$706
										Knoxville	$706
										Memphis	$706
										Nashville	$676
									UT	Salt Lake City	$476
									VT	Burlington	$676
									VA	Norfolk	$686
										Richmond	$716
									WA	Seattle	$384
										Spokane	$396
									WI	Green Bay	$766
										Madison	$686
										Milwaukee	$676

IMPORTANT NOTES: **1.** These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. *All transfers for air/sea passengers are included.* **2.** Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the *Noordam* (Port of Seattle) are not included, but are available for purchase $42pp roundtrip. Schedule your arrival in San Diego (SEA) leaving plenty of time for flight delays! Arrive no later than 12:00noon on July 29th. Do not arrange return flights from Seattle before 12:00noon on August 5th. **3.** Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $50pp (non-refundable) for this service. *All requests must be sent in writing* to The Cruise Authority. **4.** Special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure. **5.** Fees will apply to any changes to existing air reservations made within 65 days of travel or deletion/cancellation of the Fly-Cruise Plan from your booking within this same time period.

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icated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Matthew Arnold allegedly said that he stopped reading at that point. I doubt it: The momentum, the rhythms, the Scriptural phrasing create a current that carries one powerfully along. Lincoln's first sentence echoes Psalm 90, "The days of our years are three score years and ten." Other language evocative of Scripture—"perish," "consecrate," "hallow," "devotion"—gives Lincoln's 272 concentrated words the weight and authority of an American Psalm. Latent here also is a resurrection metaphor, the "new birth" of freedom rising out of the sacrificial death of those thousands of soldiers buried in the new national cemetery spread out before Lincoln as he spoke. As Douglas Wilson observes, "It would be hard to find a piece of American writing that better fits Emerson's description of [poetry as] a meter-making argument."

Lincoln did pull the basic, Euclidean American "proposition" out of a hat. Stephen Douglas had maintained in his famous 1858 debates with Lincoln that the issue of slavery in the new territories should be decided by majority rule. Lincoln fought back by plucking that phrase from the Declaration. Slavery was *wrong*: A vote could not make it right, because the slaves, being "men," are equal and have "inalienable rights." That claim gained in authority because it corresponded to Americans' sense of themselves as having equality in the form of liberty and opportunity, and as having an equal voice (vote) in how they are governed. That equal voice was rooted in the New England town meeting and in the Congregational churches. Americans *received* the "born equal" of the Declaration—what Pauline Maier has called "American scripture"—in a sense that can be called religious. The debate with Lincoln over equal rights was one Stephen Douglas could not win.

An interesting and important argument has swirled around this. In *The Basic Symbols of the American Political Tradition* (1970), NATIONAL REVIEW's Willmoore Kendall (with George Carey) argued that Lincoln dangerously "internalized" the "all men are created equal" phrase of the Declaration, applying domestically what the Declaration clearly applied to Americans and Englishmen, both "equally" capable of self-government. The Declaration was claiming the right to *national* independence. But that "original intent" evaporated during the 1850s, when Lincoln applied it internally to the slaves, who indubitably were "men," and Americans' sense of their own basic equality as individuals could not refuse such equality to "all men." Claims to the contrary by the secessionists had to be judged as made in bad faith. Willmoore Kendall did not and could not win that argument with Lincoln.

Indeed, Lincoln's non-originalist reinterpretation of the Declaration has been prevailing in the self-interpretation of Americans ever since. The idea of equality in Lincoln's sense energized the civil-rights revolution (integration, voting rights)—and also the highly visible, wide, and continuing advance of women's equality. He was a poet-statesman, and his words have power yet. **NR**

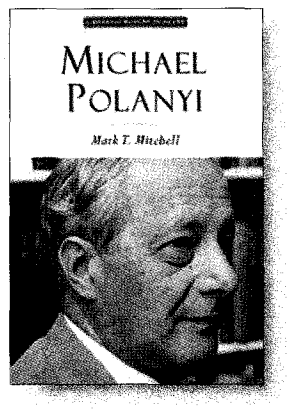
LAÏS DEDICATES TO APHRODITÊ
THE TOOLS OF HER TRADE

Words cannot say what she was in her prime,
This Laïs, now a specimen of Time.
She used to laugh to see so many men,
Not one of whom she'll ever see again.

Goddess, to you I yield my useless mirror—
What can it do but verify Time's error?
It will not show me as I used to be,
And what it will show I refuse to see.

—ROBERT MEZEY
after an anonymous poet

Saving Remnant



Michael Polanyi: The Art of Knowing, by Mark T. Mitchell (ISI, 215 pp., $15)

M. D. AESCHLIMAN

THE boulevard leading into Dachau from Munich is now called the Max Born Strasse. It is named after one of the greatest theoretical physicists of the 20th century, Max Born (1882–1970), a German Jew who taught in Frankfurt and Göttingen (1919–32) and then in exile in Britain (1933–53), before returning to Germany. Born, who won the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1954, had worked alongside and trained several other Nobel physicists in Germany in the interwar years. Looking back across his career and the tragic history of modern Europe, he wrote in 1965: "I am haunted by the idea that this break in human civilization, caused by the discovery of the scientific method, may be irreparable." He went on to say that "the political and military horrors and the complete breakdown of ethics which I have witnessed during my lifetime may be . . . a necessary consequence of the rise of science." He concluded: "If this is so, there will be an end to man as a free, responsible being." A tragic outcome to modern sci-

Mr. Aeschliman is a professor at Boston University and the University of Italian Switzerland and the author of *The Restitution of Man: C. S. Lewis and the Case Against Scientism.*

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entific progress is here envisioned by one of the greatest of modern scientists.

We are enormously indebted to three polymathic, polyglot, Hungarian émigré intellectuals for illuminating this tragic intellectual-moral terrain over the last century: Michael Polanyi (1891–1976), Arthur Koestler (1905–1983), and Stanley Jaki (b. 1924). If Born's gloomy prophecy is to be avoided, their works as well as their life stories need to be widely known and meditated, for they provide a potential "saving remnant" in a world of vast intellectual destructiveness, folly, and fecklessness: the somnambulist, sorcerer's-apprentice world of modern specialization, "value-free" science, and postmodern skepticism and immoralism.

Drawing upon the recently published definitive biography of Polanyi—*Michael Polanyi: Scientist and Philosopher*, by the late William Taussig Scott and Martin X. Moleski, S.J.—Mark T. Mitchell's volume in the ISI "Library of Modern Thinkers" series is an outstanding brief introduction. Polanyi started out his mature life as a brilliant physical chemist in Hungary, serving in World War I as a medical doctor. He lived through both the Communist Bela Kun regime and the fascist, anti-Semitic Horthy regime in Hungary before fleeing to Germany, where he met and befriended Max Born, among other distinguished scientists. Like Born a Jew, he was fortunate enough to be able to emigrate to Britain in 1933: He was invited to occupy the chair of physical chemistry at the University of Manchester. Unlike many of his colleagues and friends (and his brother Karl), Polanyi from early on was not only anti-fascist but anti-Communist. The brief Kun regime in Hungary and then several invited visits to lecture in the new Soviet Union in the 1920s and '30s gave him the opportunity to see Communism close up and to talk with such high-ranking Bolsheviks as Nikolai Bukharin, the chief Communist theoretician after the death of Lenin and the demotion of Trotsky.

Polanyi was astonished and appalled by the philosophical and ethical ignorance and arrogance of self-styled "scientific socialist" thinkers such as Bukharin, and of their English allies, especially prominent Cambridge Marxist scientists such as J. B. S. Haldane and J. D. Bernal. A sharp observer of "life on the ground" in the USSR, he noticed not only the epistemological poverty and brutal naïveté of the utilitarian Marxist regime, but also its gross political tyranny and economic ineffectiveness. As a high-school student in Hungary Polanyi had been profoundly affected by his reading of Dostoyevsky, whose depiction of both Nietzschean immoralism and self-contradictory scientistic moral fanaticism was eventually to ripen in Polanyi's own work into a devastating, detailed critique of modernist epistemological and moral confusion. This critique would influence his fellow refugee Koestler, whose works affected the course of world opinion in the period during and after World War II.

Perhaps the most powerful and enduringly valuable of Polanyi's projects was to answer that terrifying vision raised by Max Born and to challenge and refute the supposedly "scientific" character of Marxist "scientific socialism" and Nazi/Social Darwinist "civic biology." Lastingly affected by Dostoyevsky's prophetic insight into the dialectical oscillations of nihilism, Polanyi also read Reinhold Niebuhr during the dark days of World War II as European civilization was committing suicide. Niebuhr wrote with devastating cogency against both forms of secular modern utilitarianism—liberal and Marxist. Of the secular liberal tradition from Diderot and Bentham to Dewey and Wells he wrote in 1944: "The most naïve form of the democratic faith in an identity between the individual and the general interest is developed by the utilitarians of the 18th and 19th centuries. Their theory manages to extract a covertly expressed sense of obligation toward the 'greatest good of the greatest number' from a hedonistic analysis of morals which really lacks all logical presuppositions for any idea of obligation, and which cannot logically rise above an egoistic view of life."

Insights such as this had a powerful effect on American intellectuals, including Whittaker Chambers and Lionel Trilling, as well as on Polanyi. But unlike Chambers and Trilling, Polanyi had much earlier had an intuition of profound clarity about the root epistemological self-contradiction of Marxist moralism, an intuition that had rendered him invulnerable to its epidemic appeal among the intelligentsia. After Polanyi's 1928 trip to the USSR, he had written to his brother Karl: "It is a cause for despair that there are people who can be led to die or to kill with this kind of scientism." As a world-class research scientist, he knew existentially and introspectively that he had some margin of free will and initiative, and a purposeful disposition toward reason, truth, evidence, argument, and justice—all of which was absolutely inconsistent with any alleged deterministic "laws of history." He saw that there were no such laws of history, and that believers in them, having replaced providence with progress, were prone to the fate of Bukharin, who fell from scientistic triumphalism to moral panic, ideological despair, and political execution.

The tragic but revealing fate of Bukharin, consumed by his own revolution, drove Koestler as well as Chambers out of the Communist party and into permanent opposition to it. Koestler befriended Polanyi in England during World War II and was allied with him in the Europe-wide anti-Communist cause. In 1946, the French translation of Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, an imaginative portrait of the fate of Bukharin at the hands of the Stalinists, broke French publishing records and was credited by many, including François Mauriac, with being the decisive influence on the epochal Communist defeat in the French referendum in May of that year. Koestler went on to popularize and promote Polanyi's critique of both scientism and moral nihilism for the next four decades.

Meanwhile, another Hungarian émigré polymath, Stanley Jaki, who had also lived under the Hungarian fascist and Communist dictatorships, came in 1950 to the U.S. A Catholic priest as well as a distinguished physicist, Jaki has—in a vast, profound body of writing on the natural sciences over four decades—deepened and developed Polanyi's insights and given them philosophical consistency and contemporary application.

While on the run from the Nazis in southern France in 1940, the desperate Koestler was surprised to find comfort in the sympathetic conversational ministrations of a French soldier who turned out to be a Dominican priest. The still-leftist Jew Koestler remarked to the priest the oddity of his finding hope from such an unlikely source. The priest's reply: "*Le bon Dieu est un metteur-en-scène raffiné.*" Father Jaki's magnificent completion and development of the noble Polanyi-Koestler project may be another such refined stroke of providence, as well as the answer to Max Born's despairing vision. **NR**

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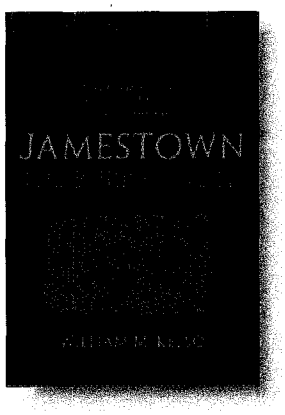
The Big Dig



Jamestown: The Buried Truth,
by William M. Kelso
(Virginia, 256 pp., $29.95)

ALAN PELL CRAWFORD

For a century and a half or more, the conventional wisdom held that the original fort at Jamestown, Virginia—site of the first permanent English settlement in the New World—had left no remnant. At some point in the irretrievable past, everyone agreed, the wooden palisades had slipped beneath the waters of the James River, a victim of erosion and of time.

The sole skeptic was an archeologist named William M. Kelso, who, as an undergraduate in 1963, visited Jamestown Island, where he noted the discovery of 17th-century artifacts under a Confederate earthwork. He also detected peculiar disturbances in the earthwork's soil. Might these disturbances, he wondered, be vestiges of the slots that once secured the fort's walls?

The question bedeviled Kelso until the spring of 1994, when, retained by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, he undertook his own excavations. Before long, Kelso's original "crew of one" had grown to a small squadron of archeologists whose work, at this writing, continues. In the "lowly trash" of the old settlement, they have found (so far) some 600,000 tools, weapons, pieces of china, buttons, and other objects of evidentiary importance. They also unearthed the skeletons of several dozen settlers and—perhaps you guessed—remnants of the original fort itself, on dry land.

In *Buried Truth*, Kelso tells the story of these discoveries, and a swell story it is. The physical evidence is as compelling, in many ways, as the documents that historians have relied on for two centuries. It is, in some cases, more revealing.

As befits an enterprise that set out to challenge received opinion, Kelso's work throws doubt on a number of durable Jamestown myths. It does so, to the author's credit, with none of the punitive spirit that too often inspires revisionists. The archeological record, in fact, suggests a more impressive accomplishment on the part of John Smith and the other settlers than heretofore believed. That they survived at all seems astonishing, if not providential.

They arrived in May 1607, in three ships sent by the Virginia Company of London, a group of entrepreneurs who hoped to people the Chesapeake with Englishmen, find gold, and discover a water route to the East Indies. From the moment the would-be colonists set sail, bitter and sometimes violent quarrels ensued. Captain Smith, accused of mutiny, spent much of the Atlantic crossing in chains. Once the ships landed and the settlers waded ashore and set up camp, the death rate was horrendous. Some fell in sporadic wars with the Algonquian Indians; many more starved.

Smith's accounts, the most vivid of contemporary sources, blame the English "gentlemen" with whom the ambitious commoner vied for power. The settlement was nearly wiped out because its ranks were top-heavy with fops ("libertines," Smith called them) who believed themselves too good to work. The colony's setbacks were so dismal and so persistent that we tend to regard Jamestown, as the historian Edmund Morgan put it, as a "failure."

The settlers defied orders given to them in London, we have been told, and chose a location for their fort that, being too close to the ocean, lacked fresh water. The site was vulnerable to attack. The dandies and dilettantes proved not just lazy but incompetent. Their lack of useful skills of any kind led to the whole colony's near-annihilation. During the winter of 1609–1610—the "starving time"—they had to eat anything that came to hand, including horses, dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and, on at least one occasion, one another. By spring, only 60 of the original 215 settlers survived. It was the Brit twits' fault, and if Pocahontas had not come to the rescue, they would all have been wiped out.

Kelso's digs suggest a somewhat different interpretation. The fort was in a more secure location, he found, than originally believed. The discovery and examination of the well within its walls reveals an adequate supply of fresh water (though keeping it fresh posed a problem), and the logs within the well add more useful data. The tree rings of these logs indicate a severe drought during the "starving time"—a drought that would have ravaged the Indians as well as the settlers, no matter how skillful or industrious. The abundance of tools, and of intricate items that these tools were employed to manufacture, reveals the presence of plenty of skilled workers and, in Kelso's words, a "robust, multi-faceted community."

Far from being lazy, the settlers may in fact have put themselves at risk by working too hard. Just building the fort "was nothing short of Herculean," Kelso writes. If, as the Virginia Company ordered, only 20 men were to be assigned the task, the archeological record reveals that in just under three weeks,

> these few men, some likely even gentlemen, cut, hauled, divided, and sometimes split at least 610 four- to eight-hundred-pound trees, then dug a trench at least 1,030 feet long and two and a half feet deep to seat them in. That meant each of the twenty men had to fell, haul, dig, and plant one or two trees a day . . . for nineteen days straight (May 18–June 15, 1607) in what would likely have been a hot, humid Virginia early summer.

By contrast, the crew of New Line Cinema's 2005 movie *The New World*, which took great pains to be faithful to Kelso's discoveries, required three full weeks to construct a slightly smaller version of the fort—using power tools.

At the same time the settlers built the fort, they were also splitting trees into planks to load onto the ships for transport

Mr. Crawford, author of *Unwise Passions: A True Story of a Remarkable Woman and the First Great Scandal of Eighteenth-Century America*, is now completing a book on Thomas Jefferson for Random House.

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back to England. It's not surprising, if this is the way the men worked, that George Percy, one of the leading settlers, listed exertion from carrying palisades as one cause of their deaths.

They did not find gold, to be sure. Nor did these newcomers discover a route to the Orient. But they did plant tobacco and (later on) amass fortunes through its cultivation. They also established other settlements along the rivers. And, on July 30, 1619, in their church inside the fort, they convened, "to establish one equal and uniform government over all Virginia," the first representative assembly in the New World. On such "failure" a great nation was born, and Kelso's work adds significantly to our understanding of its origins.

Some readers may be disappointed to discover that the archeology at Jamestown fails to tell us much about Pocahontas—at least so far. Whether she and John Smith were romantically attached, as in the movie and the legends that inspired it, has yet to be proved or disproved, so you may still believe it if you wish. Kelso would no doubt understand. Some myths, as he is aware, are almost indestructible. **NR**

LEGACY

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■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

WHY do conservatives seek, as the famous phrase has it, to stand athwart history yelling Stop? Because they are horrified by the sight of society coming undone. They have witnessed the breakdown of the family, the withering of liberal-arts education, the constriction of economic freedom, the corrosion of aesthetic standards, soaring crime rates, drug addiction . . . the list is as familiar as it is dismaying.

Ralph de Toledano, a key figure in the founding generation of this magazine, was there to see it all. In ***Cry Havoc: The Great American Bring-Down and How It Happened*** (Anthem, 254 pp., $18), he lays out a chilling history of Western decline. In his capable hands, the story is dramatic: With the sympathy and support of an international Communist infrastructure, neo-Marxist intellectuals working within the West's own academic institutions produced and injected the intellectual poison that would slowly atrophy the vital organs of Western civilization. Tradition, religion, morality, and the family—all of these were cast as obstacles to progress, bulwarks of an old order that had to be crushed and cleared away.

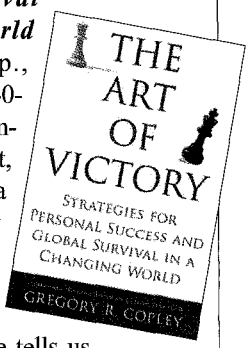
Toledano traces the rise of the Frankfurt School from its Soviet-inspired roots in Germany through its migration to Columbia University, and from there its projection of the noxious "critical theory" into the mainstream of Anglophone academe. The intellectuals who led this movement lived by the Marxian principle that the aim of the academic is not merely to study the world, but to change it. Toledano shows just how terribly successful they have been.

Cry Havoc illustrates that, while political and military matters dominated the headlines of the Cold War, an equally important battle was being fought for control of the intellectual high ground. The fight began with a surprise attack, and, years later, the casualties are still coming in.

—ANTHONY DICK

THE philosophy of strategy and tactics made the big time in the 1980s, when Sun Tzu's *Art of War* was a mass-market title. It had long been a classic among military thinkers when some savvy American publisher started marketing it as a tactical self-help manual—a "Strategic Domination for Dummies" pamphlet, shrouded in Oriental mystique, available for five bucks at the local Barnes & Noble. Americans—from athletes to fast-food managers—gobbled it up. And why not? What man doesn't want to master the Tao and conquer his enemies through the ancient Chinese secrets of military cunning?

Gregory R. Copley doesn't say it outright, but he has written a sort of Sun Tzu sequel. In his new book, ***The Art of Victory: Strategies for Personal Success and Global Survival in a Changing World*** (Threshold, 336 pp., $25), he draws on his 40-year career as a government strategy analyst, offering the reader a unified theory of how to win in whatever contest he might find himself. In all competitive endeavors, he tells us, some immutable truths persist: "The obsession with current technology and with imagined future innovations obscures the fact that human nature itself has not changed." He reminds us of the critical importance of self-mastery, composed of self-confidence, self-discipline, and determination.



Copley does indulge in the occasional hyperbole—"Victory is the goal of life and therefore ultimately of the whole range of human emotions and skills"; "Our sense of justice and injustice is based on intellectual interpretation of our quest for survival, which is expressed in the will to victory"—but he has written a genuinely helpful book.

—AD

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■ MUSIC ■

Hot Properties

JAY NORDLINGER

THE opera world has a scorching-hot star on its hands: Anna Netrebko, the 35-year-old soprano from Russia. Her face is plastered on every street corner of every opera capital. She is adored and panted after. Two summers ago, she created a sensation in Verdi's *Traviata* at the Salzburg Festival. The next summer, they auctioned off the red couch on which she had reclined. That, my friends, is stardom.

In her years before the footlights, Netrebko has sung a variety of roles, many in Mozart, and in the bel canto repertoire. At the moment, she is Elvira in Bellini's *Puritani* at the Metropolitan Opera. The voice is not a classic Mozart or bel canto voice: It is a little dark, a little steely, a little unbending. But it is a fine and exciting voice, and Netrebko knows what to do with it. Hers is not a perfect technique, and she has a number of problems to solve—for instance, a tendency to sharp. But no one denies that she makes the most of what she has.

What she has, in abundance, is charisma, or magnetism. She is a real stage animal, a real singing actress. Comparisons have been made to Callas, and Netrebko chafes at this. But those comparisons are not unjust. The Russian should simply accept them, blushingly, and smile.

She is not a recital artist, or at least not yet. (Then again, Callas never was.) She was scheduled to sing a recital in Carnegie Hall last season, but canceled it, saying she did not feel "artistically ready." She had sung very few recitals, and wanted to be at her "very best" for Carnegie and "the New York public." This shows self-knowledge and wisdom, no doubt—and yet, Netrebko is no kid, and should happily face the recital music, pretty soon.

Where she is well-nigh unquestionable is in her native repertoire—the Russian repertoire. Many of us Americans first noticed her in 2002, when she made her Met debut in Prokofiev's *War and Peace*. It was a stunning debut. Too much can be made of nationality in music, and good musicians can perform anything. And yet, nationality is not nothing, particularly in singing: Netrebko's timbre tends to suit Russian music, and her use of the language is enchanting. Of course, timbre and language are not unrelated.

Her latest CD is called *Russian Album*, and it comes from Deutsche Grammophon. Netrebko sings an assortment of arias, scenes, and songs, in the company of the conductor Valery Gergiev and his St. Petersburg band: the Orchestra of the Mariinsky Theater. Gergiev has been something of an evangelist for Russian opera, introducing the West to works it never knew.

Anna Netrebko

And since the collapse of Soviet Communism, Russian singers have become ever more prominent in opera. So has the Russian repertoire.

Netrebko begins her CD with a long-famous and -beloved piece: the Arioso from Tchaikovsky's *Iolanta* (not to be confused with the Gilbert & Sullivan operetta *Iolanthe*). She continues with two songs by Rachmaninoff, whose piano accompaniments are arranged for orchestra. The songs seem a little too big, a little too grand, but Netrebko makes them work. She exhibits her special and unusual combination of coolness and vulnerability.

The disc goes on with Rimsky-Korsakov, Glinka, and Prokofiev—and more Tchaikovsky and more Rachmaninoff. Netrebko includes a "tableau" from Rachmaninoff's one-act opera *Francesca da Rimini* (not to be confused with Zandonai's four-act opera, or Tchaikovsky's symphonic fantasy, of the same name). This tableau is ravishing and magnificent, and so is Netrebko. She is not all lushness, however, contributing some vocal bite—which, again, may put you in mind of Callas.

Opera does not exactly need sizzling stars, but, when they come along, who can object? Netrebko has entered that small class of singers who are known by first name alone: She is "Anna," on top of the heap, like "Renée," "Bryn," and "Plácido" (Fleming, Terfel, and Domingo). And it does Anna no harm that she is a beauty, indeed, an international sex symbol. This is a bonus—but only a bonus, as opera is primarily a musical experience, and only secondarily a theatrical or visual one.

Which brings us to the latest hot topic at the Met. Reliable rumor has it that the new administration there is cracking down on the overweight, and not just the obese—the pleasantly plump, too. The word is, "Get slim, or find another house." Many singers are running scared, and some of them are running to the hospital, for weight-loss surgery.

If the hefty had been ruled out in the past, think what we would have missed! We would never have seen Birgit Nilsson as Salome. Some joked that she was "Beer Gut Nilsson"—but she was the most celebrated Salome of her time (the Dance of the Seven Veils aside). We would never have seen Joan Sutherland, the healthy gal from Down Under, as the delicate, fragile Lucia. We would never have seen Montserrat Caballé . . . as anything. And would we even know the name of Luciano Pavarotti?

In any case, Anna Netrebko has no worries, on any front.

■ The big news in the piano world is Lang Lang, the 24-year-old phenom from China. Wherever he goes, he causes a stir, exuding a rock-star presence. As a pianist, he is frightfully uneven: He can play absurdly—willfully, sloppily, superficially. Liberace would grimace in disgust. He can also play superbly—musically, sensitively, inarguably. He can be absurd and superb in the course of the same evening,

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or hour. You never know, with this exasperating kid.

His latest album is *Dragon Songs*, and it brings us Chinese music. (As with the Netrebko CD, the label is Deutsche Grammophon.) Lang Lang is following a long tradition, and I am not referring to a Chinese one: Musicians have always offered music from their native lands, spreading it far and wide. They especially do this when serving up encores. Last November, Lang Lang played Beethoven's C-major concerto in Carnegie Hall (dreadfully). The audience went wild, of course, and he favored them with a Chinese piece (exquisite).

The young man begins his new CD with the "Yellow River" Concerto, which has an interesting origin. It is based on a choral work, *The Great Song of the Yellow River*, written by Xian Xinghai in 1939. Three decades later, Jiang Qing—a.k.a. Madame Mao—ordered an arrangement of this piece for piano and orchestra. As Deutsche Grammophon's liner notes say,

> the composer himself [Xian Xinghai] did not live to see the victory of the Party and was unable, therefore, to depict it in his work, and so the team of composers, pianists and arrangers that worked on the new piece introduced into it the *Internationale* and the Maoist hymn *Dongfanghong* ("The East Is Red").

Know any other concertos written by committee? Anyway, it is a ghastly thing, worse, even, than the "Warsaw" Concerto, Richard Addinsell's 1940s take on blowsy Romanticism. The "Yellow River" Concerto sounds like bad, Chinese Liszt. But we are informed that it is meaningful to Lang Lang and millions of his countrymen, and they are not to be denied it.

The rest of the pieces on this CD are far more palatable, and Lang Lang plays them winningly. There is much smooth, limpid, natural pianism here. When Lang Lang is thinking straight, he is virtually unbeatable.

And consider a broader point: Chinese music will occupy an ever wider space in music at large. For about 20 years, Western conservatories have been packed with Chinese students, along with others from East Asia. (Lang Lang attended the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia.) In December, Tan Dun's opera *The First Emperor* premiered at the Met. The composer is a Chinese American who likes to blend the Eastern and the Western. So do many of his colleagues, including Bright Sheng and Chen Yi. Thus does music expand, change, and, one hopes, grow.

■ Finally, a third CD—this one from the Decca label—and a third young star: Janine Jansen, the 28-year-old Dutch violinist. She plays two warhorses, the Mendelssohn Concerto in E minor, and the Bruch Concerto in G minor. She makes them gallop with freshness and delight. It says something about a musician when he can make the very familiar, even the hackneyed, seem new, or at least inspired. This is what Jansen does, especially in the Mendelssohn.

She plays this concerto with maturity and flair. While she is imaginative, she is never self-indulgent, always respecting the composer's intentions. The slow movement is utterly melting—but not soupy. And the concluding movement is spry and sly—without being cutesy. In all, Jansen demonstrates extraordinary taste. And she has an able partner in Riccardo Chailly, leading the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra. (This is the group once led by Mendelssohn himself, as they are quick to tell you.)

The real prize on this disc may be the shortest piece—a filler—and it is not even for violin: It is Bruch's Romance in F for Viola and Orchestra, Op. 85. Like Pinchas Zukerman and, from her own generation, Julian Rachlin, Jansen is a switcher—a player who can handle either the violin or the viola. And in this Romance, she is noble, restrained, and moving. Despite its title, the piece has the character of a hymn, or, better, a prayer.

Above, we spoke about looks and the opera. And we will now have to speak about looks and strings. The young Dutchwoman could easily be a movie star—and her label clearly knows it. Decca devotes over half the pages in its CD booklet to photos of Jansen: 8 of 14. You can hardly blame business people for doing the necessary. Look what they have done with another violinist, Anne-Sophie Mutter—they have been selling her bare shoulders for years. Evidently, Jansen's remain covered, suggesting that, when it comes to violinistic shoulders, there is room for only two. **NR**

■ FILM ■

Fables and Foibles

ROSS DOUTHAT

A *FAIRY tale for adults.* According to the wizards at Google, this phrase has been used 474 times to describe *Pan's Labyrinth*, Guillermo del Toro's fantasy of fascist-era Spain, in the month since it made its American debut. I suppose I know what they mean: The film has fauns and fairies and magical kingdoms hidden away underground, but it's also rated R for graphic violence, and deservedly so. Yet at the same time it's hard to imagine a less appropriate description for del Toro's movie, which for all its gore is a children's story through and through, dependent on atmosphere and archetype for its power, and deliberately designed to skirt adulthood's complexities and shades of gray. Like the (equally bloody) fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm, *Pan's Labyrinth* is potent enough to be appreciated by grown-ups, but only if they approach it through the eyes of a child.

The year is 1944, and the place is the north of Spain, where a girl named Ofelia (Ivana Baquero) and her pregnant, ailing mother are on their way to join Ofelia's stepfather, a captain in Franco's army named Vidal who's charged with cleaning up a pocket of Communist resistance in the countryside around an old mill. Vidal is played by Sergi López, who has conjured up memorable villains while speaking French (as the titular psychopath of *With A Friend Like Harry*) and English (as a corrupt hotel manager in Stephen Frears's *Dirty Pretty Things*); here, he adds a Spanish-language sadist to his curriculum vitae. The captain is the sort of man who prefers beating to talking, shooting to beating, and a spot of torture to any of the above. He's interested in Ofelia's mother only because she's carrying his son; Ofelia herself exists only as an object for his cruelty to batten on.

Seeking an escape, Ofelia retreats into the forests that surround the mill, where she discovers—or imagines, or dreams—

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a portal to a magical world, guarded by a creaking, enormous, and faintly sinister faun. He informs her that she's actually the reincarnation of Princess Moanna, daughter of the ruler of an underground realm, and that she can return to her royal father's side—but only if she first performs three tasks, each more dangerous than the last, involving dripping caverns and enormous frogs, keys and daggers, and a memorably surreal creature with eye sockets on his hands. These tasks must be carried out under the noses of her adult guardians, who have their own problems to deal with: Vidal is trying to cope with the rebels, both the partisans in the hills and the collaborators in his own house; those same collaborators, a kindly doctor and the beautiful housekeeper, are trying to assist their Communist friends without arousing the suspicion of the fascists; and Ofelia's mother is struggling desperately to carry her son to term.

You'd have to be pretty thick not to realize that del Toro intends the fairyland narrative—heavy with arbitrary commands, underground abattoirs, and intimations of blood sacrifice—as a commentary on the politics at work in the real-world storyline, and this realization has sent many critics into raptures over the film's supposed political sophistication. Hence, for instance, *Wall Street Journal* critic Joe Morgenstern's announcement that *Pan's Labyrinth* "deepens our emotional understanding of fascism, and of rigid ideology's dire consequences."

This is, of course, precisely what the movie doesn't do. López makes what he can of the character of Vidal, turning a cardboard villain into a memorable monster, but the film's politics are about as deep as a puddle of blood. The fascists are beasts who torture, maim, and kill without compunction, before sitting down to fine dinners with local grandees and corrupt clerics; the Communists in the woods, on the other hand, are a heroic lot, sturdy and kindhearted and ethically pure, like figures out of, well, Communist propaganda. The only thing such caricatures deepen is our understanding of predictable left-wing bias in Western cinema.

The less you think about these weaknesses, though, and the more you treat the "real world" story as a fairy tale in its own right—with Vidal as a wicked stepfather, the housekeeper as a fairy godmother, and so forth—the better *Pan's Labyrinth* gets.

The movie collapses if you take its adult characters and their politics too seriously, but succeeds if you give over to its moody atmospherics, its twisting trees and creaking corridors. It may not be a realistic depiction of life under fascism, but, like any good fairy tale, it's a gripping endurance test, with a happy ending waiting, perhaps, after all the trials are done.

More than that, it's a reminder of the enduring power of the Christian story, which hovers over all the West's great fairy tales, and hovers over this one too—even in a movie that associates religion with Vidal and tyranny, and seeks an escape from Franco's Spain in the landscape of the great god Pan. Del Toro is dabbling in paganism, like so many of our artists, but he stays safely in the shallow end, and the film's ending, at once tragic and triumphant, is a rebuke to the bloody darkness of myth. Trapped between warring cruelties, natural and supernatural, Ofelia chooses neither, and her fate echoes the strangest tale of all—which claims that you can save your life by losing it, and gain a kingdom that isn't of this world. **NR**

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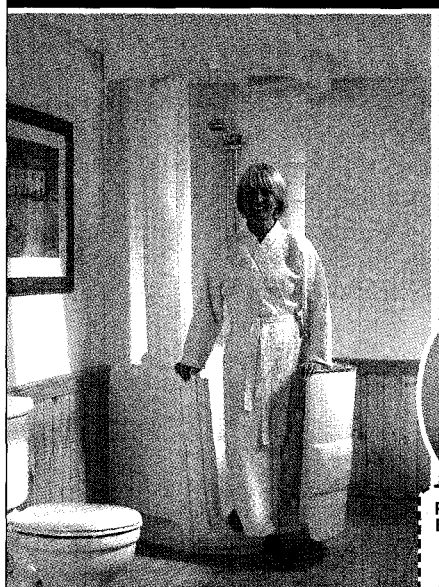

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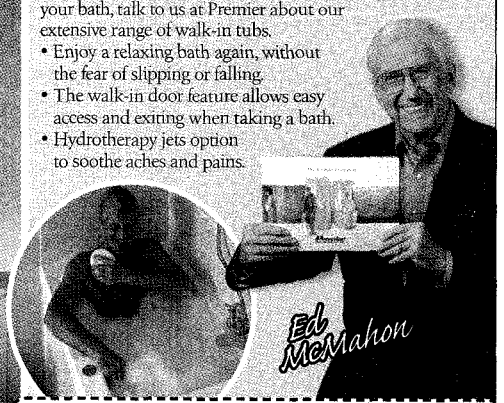

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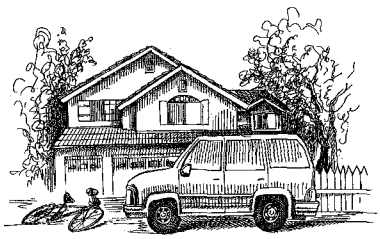
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Flow Ho Ho



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

SANTA in his goodness brought me a jigsaw puzzle for Christmas. It is quite a splendid one: a color photograph of Schloss Neuschwanstein, the alpine folly of Mad King Ludwig of Bavaria, and inspiration for the Sleeping Beauty Castle at Disneyland. The picture is beautifully reproduced "on fine papers and thick premium board" (I am quoting from the underside of the box), with fall foliage in a score of shades from yellow to green, and some faint cirrus streaks in a blue sky over distant mountains. The castle itself is a glorious fantasy of turrets, spires, terraces, arches, balustrades, and crenellations. The whole picture is divided into 2,128 pieces, precision cut by the makers, Buffalo Games of Buffalo, N.Y. Is this a fruit of Senator Clinton's promises to revivify the commerce of our upstate regions? If it is, then so far as I am concerned Mrs. Clinton has paid her debt to society.

There is a phenomenon that psychologists call *flow*. I quote from an Internet dictionary: "the mental state of operation in which the person is fully immersed in what he or she is doing, characterized by a feeling of energized focus, full involvement, and success in the process of the activity." For me, the most reliable portal to *flow* is a jigsaw puzzle. Set me up with one of these things and I am lost to the world until that one last piece clicks into place.

Unfortunately this is not a thing to be much desired. I have a living to earn, a wife to please, children to raise, and an old house to maintain. I don't have that many free hours to give up to *flow*—not, at least, until I have figured out some way to generate revenue by doing jigsaw puzzles. I therefore ration myself to one jigsaw puzzle per annum. This is my Christmas treat. Santa, of course, knows that.

As with all great enterprises, planning is the key. I make a first pass through the pieces, tipping them all out on the table, then returning them to the box one by one, but setting aside all edge and corner pieces and all skyline pieces (pieces, that is, that are sky, but with some visible fragment of mountain or castle). On a large piece of black oak tag, four feet by three, I set out the perimeter of the picture and the skyline.

Second pass: all-sky pieces. Sky is a chore, to be disposed of early in the proceedings—repetitive matching of shapes, aided only by barely-detectable differences of tint. Then will come the castle—eight or nine hundred pieces, the locations of which can in most cases be determined by careful scrutiny of the picture. After that, the mountains—harder than the castle, but not so bad as sky. Finally, the foliage. If Satan ever gets into the jigsaw-puzzle-manufacturing business, His productions will be all foliage. (Capitalization intentional there. One can never be too careful.)

With perimeter, skyline, and most of the sky done, 24 full hours have passed. Somewhere in there were meals and phone calls, sleep and ablutions. These events, however, were taking place on a different plane of existence, remote and inconsequential. *Flow* has well and truly set in. I feel like someone in a diving bell at the bottom of the ocean, the outside world making itself known only by occasional muffled tappings and thumpings on the wall of the bell. *For goodness' sake come to the table, your dinner's getting cold,* I hear some woman's voice call from a far place. *Be right there. Just got to place this one piece . . .*

As far back as I can remember anything, I can remember doing jigsaw puzzles, and even particular cases: that 500-piece reproduction of Frans Hals's *Laughing Cavalier* I conquered in my Aunt Muriel's parlor at age eight, for example. In the 1970s, my tradition of a Christmas puzzle already well established, Santa brought me a succession of the strange or jokey puzzles then current: a Maurits Escher visual paradox, one of Bridget Riley's black and white Op-Art paintings, two-sided puzzles, puzzles whose perimeter pieces had no straight edges, puzzles that were pictures of puzzles, and so on. Each was fun and challenging in its own way, but as conservatism set in, I returned to plain art work or photographs.

I suppose I ought to acknowledge that jigsaw puzzles properly belong at the beginning or end of life, in the idleness of childhood or retirement. They are an extravagant indulgence, timewise, for a working family man. Certainly they enriched my own childhood; and I should be happy to think that I shall go out while doing a puzzle—like Calvin Coolidge, who left one (of George Washington) unfinished when he died. That was in 1933, a peak year of the early-Depression jigsaw-puzzle craze, with sales reaching ten million per week.

Attempts to interest my own children in jigsaw puzzles have failed. They cannot see the point. Today's child has his own way of attaining *flow*, and we all know what it is. I tried to co-opt my son's preference by getting him a jigsaw-puzzle computer game, with hundreds of puzzles built in. He did work through a few of the easier puzzles—made yet easier by the software, which, with a single mouse click, instantaneously sorts the pieces by shape or color—pah! Then he discovered that the game itself had an option to assemble any puzzle automatically, the pieces flitting into place across the screen at a speed set by the user, who need only sit back and watch. At that point I knew I had lost this particular round in the parent-child bout.

It would be satisfying to make some large case for the jigsaw puzzle, as an aid to mental improvement, or as a metaphor for life or the management of worldly affairs. Not much comes to mind. Certainly there are things worth nurturing here: forward planning, the division of tasks into sub-tasks, persistence and careful observation, faith in the possibility of bringing order out of chaos, *flow*. There is, though, an underlying futility to the business of spending many hours assembling something with which there is then nothing to be done but to disassemble it and return it to its box. Underlying futility? No, there is no large life lesson here, none at all, absolutely none . . . NR

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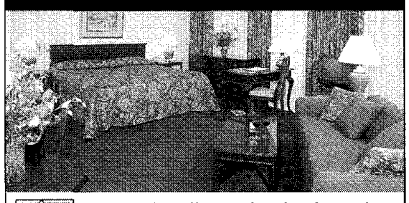

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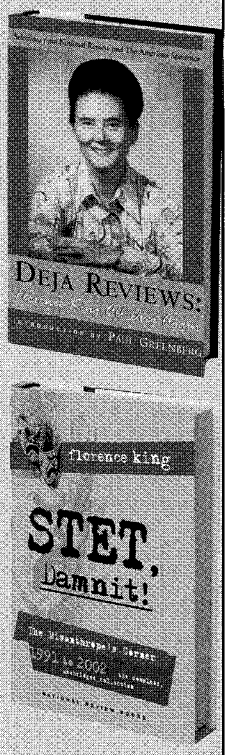

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

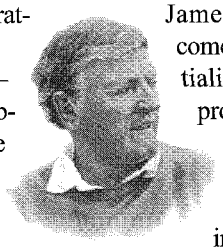
Bed Reading

NEW YORK, JANUARY 9

THE sickbed serves to distract attention, but it is unsafe to assume as a corollary that such distraction is enjoyable or even productive. It may have lessened, for a few days, preoccupation with street warfare in Baghdad, but beware the seductions of innocent diversion.

Many years ago, just graduated from college, just married, I purchased a shelfload of newly printed "classics"—to be read sometime, somewhere, or left to grandchildren to read. Such books rest, of course, in the uppermost reach of one's library, but I tipped one out en route to the hospital last month and found myself reading *The American* by Henry James.

It is 488 pages long, and it may be the single most boring book ever published. It is at least the single most venerated bad book ever published.



Now Henry James (1843–1916) is captivating when describing people and situations. I once wrote about his travel books that "you can close your eyes and open either volume at any page and find yourself reading prose so resplendent it will sweep you off your feet. Yet after a while, after a long while, you will recognize that you do, really, have to come down to earth because there are so many other things to do. And besides, if you stay with him for too long, in that engrossing, scented, colored, brilliant, absorbing world, you feel strung out, feel something like hanging moss."

On the matter of writing, and how to get it done, Richard Powers in the *New York Times* recently wrote an exalted essay in praise of dictation, made economically feasible in the modern world by speech-recognition devices. "I write these words from bed," Powers tells us, "under the covers with my knees up, my head propped and my three-pound tablet PC—just a shade heavier than a hardcover—resting in my lap, almost forgettable. I speak untethered, without a headset, into the slate's microphone array. The words appear as fast as I can speak."

One reads on, even if internally apprehensive at the prospect of a multiple increase in reading matter, and numb after completing *The American*. "Not that efficiency has always been dictation's prime selling point," Powers writes. "In dictating his own last few baggy monsters, Henry James perfected such fluid elocution that, according to Edith Wharton, he couldn't even ask directions without releasing a torrent of 'explanatory ramifications.'"

Henry James! In his travel books James demonstrates his extraordinary powers of discrimination. Geneva suffers from "the want of humor in the local atmosphere, and the absence, as well, of that aesthetic character which is begotten of a generous view of life." OK. But what about the Swiss in general? They have, James found, "an insensibility to comeliness or purity of form—a partiality to the clumsy, coarse, and prosaic, which one might almost interpret as a calculated offset to their great treasure of natural beauty, or at least as an instinctive protest of the national genius for frugality."

One or two mechanical points should be made here. One of them is that James's *The American*, lionized in American literary history, was written in 1877—which was before he took to dictating his work. A second mechanical point is that transcribers didn't have the skill, in the 19th century, to record as fast as people could speak. Another, nonmechanical point: It is the responsibility of men and women who seek an audience for their writing beyond the family to instruct or entertain, or to die trying. The ratio is not definitively established, between skills disposed of and weight of literary production.

The grand meaning of this lesson being that eminent people can write eminently awful books and get away with it, and that medical science falls short of shielding us from bad books.

Yes or No to Bush?

NEW YORK, JANUARY 12

YOU are a Republican legislator, retiring after this, your fifth term. Last night, you composed a questionnaire for yourself.

(1) Is it a strain to send more troops to Iraq?

No. A country of 300 million has resources insignificantly depleted by the proposed increase in troops.

Yes, there would be sacrifices. I am not going to spend ten seconds describing the anguish of the families of soldiers wounded or killed, which does not diminish that anguish. We are talking in clinical language. Hospitals don't pause to bemoan the deaths that occur on their premises. The U.S. has been at war in Iraq for nearly four years. No sacrifice of a corporate character has been asked of the American people. Taxes haven't been raised, gasoline hasn't been rationed.

Life in free countries produces victims in every field. In the past four years, 3,000 American soldiers have died in Iraq. In the same period, about 170,000 Americans have died in car accidents, and about 1.6 million have died from tobacco-related illnesses.

(2) Is our Iraqi enterprise worth a corporate commitment by the U.S.?

That is the taxing question. If success in Iraq would bring an end to the movement of which Iraq is now the apex, the answer would clearly be yes. Has the president persuasively argued that it would do so? No. He has said that "failure in Iraq would be a disaster for the United States." He hasn't said why. Great countries do lose great engagements. We did in Vietnam and Korea, the Soviets did in Afghanistan.

Would the U.S. be less threatening to its armed enemies if we pulled out of Iraq? That depends on a single element: Iran. Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Syria are all, in this epoch in history, living direful lives. But only Iran has or is developing the dispositive weapon.

(3) How does the Iraq question bear on the Iran question?

If Iran did not exist, Iraq could proceed with its sectarian strife with consequences only for Iraqis. But Iran is crit-

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ical in several ways. Iran is training, inflaming, transporting, and supplying all Muslims within reach to join in the fighting. We have moved to toughen sanctions against Iran, but they have not been sufficient to effect a regime change.

(4) Then doesn't it follow that the U.S. role in Iraq is indeed critical?

No, actually. The U.S. could help the Maliki government in Iraq fight the insurgents. But the evidence, in the last two years especially, is that the strength of the insurgents lies not in their military organization but in their techniques. Our losses are mostly from IEDs—improvised explosive devices. An elevation in U.S. fighting forces in Iraq doesn't diminish, pro tanto, the number of IEDs that will be set off.

The threat in Iraq is from the apparently inexhaustible flow of insurgents who plant the IEDs. What no strategist, U.S. or Iraqi, has successfully addressed is the question of how to diminish that noxious flow. One U.S. general petitioned the Iraqi government to be more forceful with captured insurgents, many of whom are simply released. But nothing like a rout of apprehended insurgents is in prospect, which problem touches on—

(5) The sectarian character of the Iraqi population, which is a cause of divisions extending beyond any dislike of the U.S.

A geographical division of Iraq is inevitable. The major players are obvious. It isn't plain how the U.S., as an outside party, could play an effective role in that national redefinition. And the U.S. would do well to encourage non-U.S. agents to act as brokers—people with names like Ban Ki-moon.

On the basis of this analysis I will vote against supplementary U.S. involvement in Iraq.

Congress's Dilemma

NEW YORK, JANUARY 16

HOUSE SPEAKER Nancy Pelosi's comments raise a point worth making. It is that there is, finally, no way for Congress to estop military escalation by the executive except by cutting funds. Or impeaching the president.

Some speak of alternative measures—specifically, a "nonbinding" resolution that would express the will of Congress in the matter of financing an additional 20,000 troops, but would stop short of declaring the expenditure of federal money for that purpose an illegal act.

Some legislators are aware that Congress is flirting with a constitutional problem of its own. It has the authority to raise and dispose of funds. But the president is commander in chief. Professor Walter Dellinger, who was President Clinton's chief constitutional authority, put it well when he wrote that "broad as Congress's spending power undoubtedly is, it is clear that Congress may not deploy it to accomplish unconstitutional ends"—such as restricting the president's authority as commander in chief to direct the movement of American troops.

Dellinger quoted FDR's attorney general, Robert Jackson, a future Supreme Court Justice: "The president's responsibility as commander in chief embraces the authority to command and direct the armed forces in their immediate movements and operations, designed to protect the security and effectuate the defense of the United States."

It is simply preposterous to assume that Congress is going to specify a single escalation of troop levels in Iraq as transgressing against congressional authority.

Sen. Christopher Dodd (D., Conn.) has an interesting suggestion on how to avoid the dilemma. He would back a resolution declaring that additional troops could not be sent into that theater except with the sanction of Congress. It becomes a sophisticated question whether Congress can simultaneously abide by the separation of powers and intrude into military operations the commander in chief deems necessary to the exercise of his duties.

The vice president's office, meanwhile, has said that there is already in the executive kitty enough money to finance the proposed troop augmentation. Once again we get into disputes extremely difficult to adjudicate. It is unlikely that any constitutional force in the imagination of any congressman is going to interfere with the deployment of five brigades in the midst of a lengthy military venture.

Is it a venture backed by the American people? No one doubts that, at the inception, going into Iraq was a popular move. But the point being raised is that the American people, including many members of Congress, were propelled by an understanding of the Iraqi situation that was simply false. We all acknowledge now that there were no weapons of mass destruction within Iraq's borders, though it is a different question whether deceit was a part of the executive act. A brief to the effect that Bush and his team *should* have known that there were no WMDs in Iraq would probably carry the day in a public examination of the scene as of March 2003. And there is no question that whatever the voters had in mind when the war began, they are now anxious to end it.

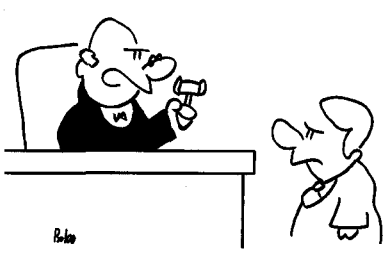
What will happen?

Mr. Bush will place his 20,000 troops in Iraq athwart the objections of Pelosi et al. Give the situation six months to crystallize. If at that point Iraq appears to be stabilizing, Mr. Bush will succeed in hanging on. There is legitimate optimism on the point. Some of the chaotic fury of the insurgents seems to be dissipating. The Maliki government appears to appeal to many young Iraqis in pursuit of a stability preferable to the desperate alternative.

Whether the American troops can play a critical role in encouraging forces of moderation can't be foretold. But what is not going to happen is a situation where U.S. Army paymasters find that the checks they give out are going to bounce. Mrs. Pelosi is spoiling for a fight, but she knows she will not win with a call for divesting American soldiers of gunpowder.

A rise in Iraqi competence would hardly be surprising. At this point, they can't carry off a successful execution. It is simply unlikely that the faint of heart in Congress are going to frustrate the attempt to encourage an orderly mobilization of Iraqi civil society. Congress is unlikely to feel critical popular pressure to abandon reasonable hope.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



"We're supposed to play the blame game here!"

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Tea for Terrorists

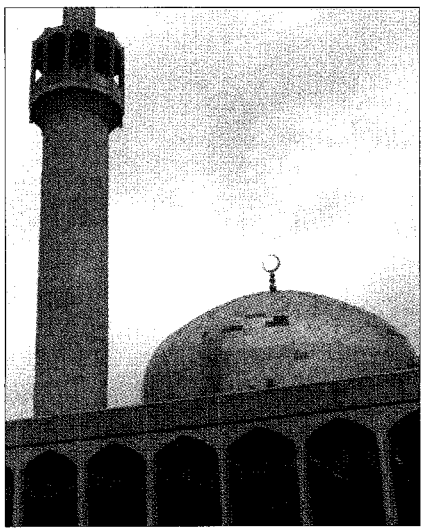
"Mosque" is a term that covers a multitude of architectural sins these days, but the one at Regents Park in London is the real deal. Big golden dome above the treetops, 140-foot minaret. I used to live nearby and I must have strolled past it hundreds of times, and if I ever did give it a second glance in those days it was only to marvel: "Wow! That Hindu temple is totally awesome."

I walked by it the other week for the first time in a long while. How did it get to sit on such a piece of prime London real estate? You can thank His Majesty's Government for that. In 1940, they allocated a hundred thousand pounds to buy land for a London mosque. The British Empire had millions of Muslim subjects and on the whole they'd been supportive of the war effort, and it seemed appropriate that this should be acknowledged in the heart of the metropolis. King George VI opened the Islamic Cultural Centre on the site in 1944. It's the best-attended mosque in Britain. If there is a "moderate" Islam in the West, this is it.

So what goes on there? Well, if you swing by the bookstore, you can pick up DVDs of hot preachers like Sheikh Feiz, who does these hilarious pig noises every time he mentions the Jews—"Oh, Muslim, behind me is the Jew [*snort snort*]. Come and kill him [*snort snort*]." You can also buy tapes from Sheikh Yasin, a celebrity American "revert" (i.e., convert) to Islam, in which he explains that you should "beat women lightly," and that a Muslim can never be friends with a non-Muslim, and that Christian missionaries deliberately introduced AIDS to Africa by putting it in the vaccines for other diseases. Another "revert," Jermaine Lindsay, got the jihad fever at the mosque and then went and self-detonated in the July 7 bombings.

If the Regents Park mosque has been "radicalized," then there are no non-radical mosques.

When I lived in the neighborhood, you'd see T-shirted tourists snapping each other with the dome in the background. That's what it was for most of us: an exotic backdrop. Inside, one assumed, they talked about Allah and Muhammad, and where's the harm in that? We looked on it in multicultural terms—that's to say, as a heritage issue: a link for immigrants back to the old country. It never occurred to us that it was an ideological bridgehead. But listen to Ijaz Mian, secretly taped by Britain's Channel 4 at the Ahl-e-Hadith mosque in Derby:



The Regents Park mosque, an exotic backdrop no more

> King, Queen, House of Commons: If you accept it, you are a part of it. If you don't accept it, you have to dismantle it. So you being a Muslim, you have to fix a target. There will be no House of Commons. From that White House to this Black House, we know we have to dismantle it. Muslims must grow in strength, then take over. . . . You are in a situation in which you have to live like a state-within-a-state—until you take over.

Where's the religious content? Where's the contemplation of the divine? Don't look for it at the Sparkbrook mosque in Birmingham recently praised by Tony Blair for its contribution to tolerance and diversity. Last June they were celebrating the killer of a British Muslim soldier in Afghanistan: "The hero of Islam is the one who separated his head from his shoulders."

These aren't sermons and these men aren't preachers. They're ideological enforcers on an explicitly political project with branch offices on Main Streets across the Western world. Imagine the Second World War with St. Adolf's Parish Church on every English village green, or the Cold War with a Soviet Orthodox Church in every midsized town in all 50 states.

Ijaz Mian trained in Saudi Arabia. The bookstore at the Regents Park Mosque is run by a company headed by a Saudi diplomat, Ahmad Al-Dubayan. The Saudis control mosques, and schools, and think tanks, and prison-chaplaincy programs—and much else, too. I'd be calling for a blue-ribbon commission to investigate Saudi subversion of the U.S. but pretty much everyone who'd wind up sitting on it would be on the Saudi gravy train one way or another. As Christopher Hitchens put it: "If, when reading an article about the debate over Iraq, you come across the expression 'the realist school' and mentally substitute the phrase 'the American friends of the Saudi royal family,' your understanding of the situation will invariably be enhanced."

Very droll. The trouble is there are so many "American friends of the Saudi royal family." Jimmy Carter's Carter Center was founded largely on King Fahd's mountain of cash, and in recent years its biggest donors included Saudi prince Alwaleed bin Talal. It never occurred to me in the fall of 2001 that five years on nothing would have changed except that we'd be shoveling even more gazillions of petrodollars into Saudi Arabia and they in turn would be shoveling even more back at us in a brilliantly synergized subversion operation, funding not only the radical imams and their incendiary progeny but also the think tanks and study groups and Nobel Prize winners who ponder the best way to appease them. The Saudis are hollowing out Britain from within, and in America they're hollowing out significant non-military components of national power—diplomatic, academic, and cultural. Listen to the men in those mosques and then ask: Where's our ideological offensive? **NR**

NICK CUNARD/ZUMA

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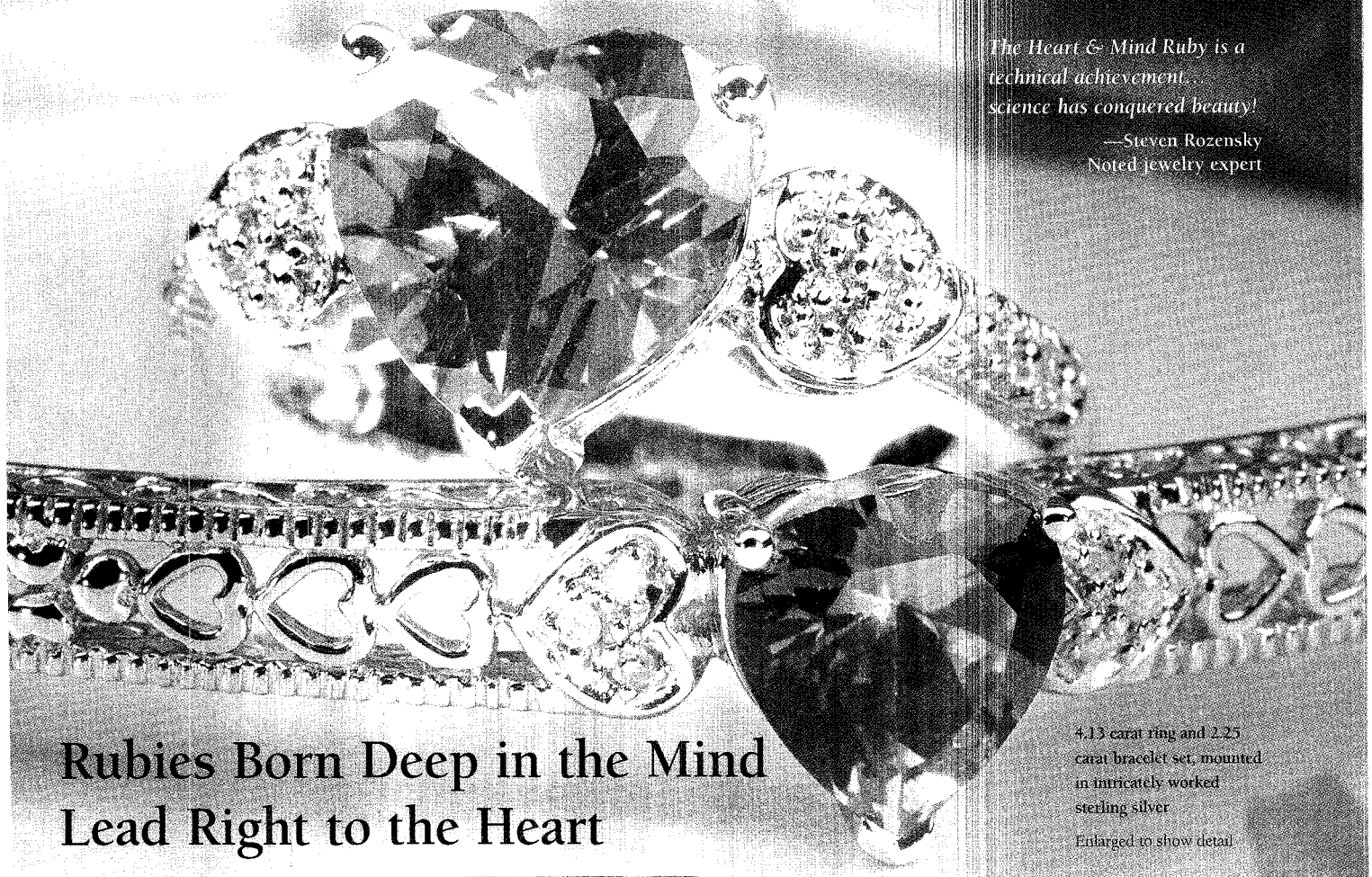

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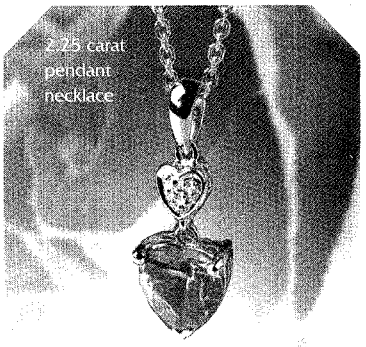

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